

NATIONAL SERVICE SCHEME

A REPORT

K. G. SAIYIDAIN



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION ○ GOVERNMENT OF INDIA—1961

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By

K. G. SAIYIDAIN



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

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E.D. 298

1,250

Publication No. 541

LIBRARY, V. R. BHARATI
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Price : Rs. 4.80 nP. or 7 sh. 9 d.

PRINTED IN INDIA BY THE MANAGER, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS,
FARIDABAD AND PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI, 1961

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PART I

ELUCIDATION OF THE PROBLEM

I was deputed by the Government of India in July 1960 on a special assignment to study what is being done in the field of youth development and youth service in other countries and to examine what light their experience can throw on the scheme of National Service for Youth which we have under consideration in our country. In this connection, I had the valued opportunity of visiting a number of European countries, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Japan and the Philippines and seeing something of their general educational activities as well as special measures taken to deal with the pressing problem of youth adjustment. My itinerary, giving the names of countries and places visited, is given in Appendix I and the list (not exhaustive) of persons, groups and representatives of concerned departments and organisations, with whom I had fruitful discussions, in Appendix II.

I must confess that, when I launched upon this project, I did not have a complete and comprehensive idea of the wide ramifications and implications of the National Service Scheme—its great possibilities as well as its risks and difficulties. But as I have observed the work being done in many countries of the world, as their educational leaders have keenly discussed and debated with me the numerous issues involved, as I have studied the great deal of material and literature that was kindly placed at my disposal and, above all, as I have pondered over the many facets of this problem, I have been able to visualise how, under right conditions, it can become a very significant influence in the adjustment of our youth to the new urges of national life and an important element in our total educational pattern. The object of this Report is to share this broader view of the Scheme with all those who are likely to be concerned with its implementation and the approach adopted in its presentation is governed by the same consideration. It would have been much easier to produce the usual "Blue Book" type of report with a descriptive account of the work done and give a few concrete and specific recommendations. But I have resisted the temptation to do so because I am convinced that the creative and dynamic idea underlying the Scheme has to be 'sold' effectively to the public, the leaders of public opinion and the student community if it is to be implemented wisely and successfully.

At the outset of my assignment, I was advised that this Report should not be a kind of "essay in theory" but should make concrete suggestions and proposals for the implementation of the Scheme. This view is valid but only up to a point. Obviously, a report like this should highlight action points and indicate how the scheme can be put into operation in a practical way. But, considering the nature of the scheme and its far-reaching social and psychological implications, it seems to me that it is not one of those proposals which can be put into practice, with any reasonable hope of success, merely by passing a government resolution or legislation in Parliament to the effect that so many thousands or lakhs of students should go into work camps on a particular date and start digging the earth or partici-

pating in other prescribed projects. In dealing with modern youth, with their emotional and psychological stresses and strains and their lack of adjustment to a rapidly changing and challenging world in which many of them have lost their moorings, we are, as it were, playing with dynamite. Dynamite can be of very great value if used intelligently. Otherwise, it can prove dangerous and destructive. It is, therefore, necessary to view the Scheme in the total context of our educational effort and squarely face the many issues—practical as well as theoretical—which arise out of it. The Scheme, as envisaged, has its theory and philosophy which should be appreciated not only by concerned educationists but also by the intelligent public and it should be progressively developed and elucidated in the light of experience. I have not, therefore, hesitated to underline or raise certain fundamental issues to some of which reference has been made, briefly but lucidly, in the Deshmukh Committee Report also. As for concrete suggestions, I have included them appropriately where I felt justified in doing so. They flow either from my personal experience and thinking or from the experiences and observations of literally hundreds of knowledgeable persons with whom I have had the benefit of discussing our proposals. It should, however, be clearly stated that detailed and concrete suggestions can largely emerge only in the context of our own national situation and out of the enlightened and critical experience of those responsible for working it out. The experience of other countries is useful in so far as it makes us more sensitive to the numerous facets and implications of this project and warns us against the pitfalls which we should try to avoid in the course of its implementation. It cannot take the place of national experience. For instance, the great American experiment of the Civilian Conservation Corps in the 1930's suffered to some extent from the fact that, at the outset at least, there was inadequate appreciation of the *educational* value of this experiment. In fact, in the CCC the educational programme came in as an after-thought, as I shall discuss later, with the result that educational purposes were not consciously defined and, though many beneficial results followed, its full educational possibilities were not exploited. It was partly as a result of this realisation that, in working out the related scheme of National Youth Administration, which was initiated a little later to train youths in various kinds of vocational activities, some of the topmost American educationists were brought in as advisers and consultants. In our case where the main objective as well as approach is educational and psychological—not economic as was the case in the American project—it is obviously more important to understand its educational implications fully and plan its educational orientation and contents carefully.

If this Scheme is to be properly conceived and developed, we should not envisage it as standing by itself but as part of the effort to achieve the wider objective of bringing education into closer and more vital relationship with community life. In most countries, there is a time-lag between education and social change and, in many of them, there is a gulf between educational content and methods, on the one hand, and the demands and urges of national life on the other. In India, this divorce between education and life, which has long been a feature of our system, became more accentuated during the British regime when education was geared to certain narrow and limited objectives. It was manifested in many ways but, above all, in the neglect of manual and practical work in education which continued—and, to some extent, continues—to be academic and unilateral in its approach. Educationists have, therefore, been concerned a good deal during the last

couple of decades about the need to bridge this gulf so that the transition between school (or college) and the wider world outside may be smooth and easy and not create tension and maladjustments. The long-range solution of this problem must obviously be sought in the reconstruction of the entire educational system. Our educationists and educational authorities have actually been engaged in giving a new orientation to education at the Elementary, the Secondary as well as the higher level. The movement of Basic education is essentially a response to this need at the Elementary stage. Its main idea is to bring education nearer to community life, to import work-experience into it and to inculcate in the children an urge for social service and a desire to participate in socially useful productive work. At the Secondary level, the establishment of Multipurpose schools and the inclusion of craft work and vocational subjects is inspired by the belief that it is not right for all students to pursue an exclusively academic course which might make it difficult for them later to respond effectively to the demands of the various practical occupations and activities woven into the fabric of adult life. But the impact of a "reconditioned" educational system can only become perceptible after a long time, for education is a process of slow growth and it takes at least a generation for its effects to be felt and to become visible. It becomes necessary, therefore, to adopt other co-curricular and extra-curricular approaches to meet an emergency situation and to supplement and reinforce the work of the formal educational agencies. The different movements like Scouting and Guiding, Auxiliary Cadet Corps, National Cadet Corps, National Discipline Scheme, Labour and Social Service Camps are all, broadly speaking, ancillary educational efforts to provide a comprehensive training for children and youth and to adjust them to the multiple demands of modern life. The National Youth Service Scheme has been envisaged as one of the important bridges to span the gulf between education and life. One of its essential aims is to *vivify*, in a practical way, some of the important national objectives in the minds of our youth and to transform them into motive forces of conduct. Care has, therefore, to be taken to see that the educational system and this Scheme pull in the same, and not in different, directions and school work and activities are so designed that they will, quietly and unobtrusively, pave the way towards its successful implementation. If students are not tactfully oriented towards it during their school career, they cannot just be told one fine morning to start doing hard manual work on difficult projects! So, on the one hand, it would be necessary to make the educational system our ally in this great experiment of youth development and, on the other, to design the experiment in such a way that it will have significant educational content and purpose which the youth might readily appreciate.

In all the countries which I visited there was considerable and sincere appreciation of the basic ideas and principles underlying the Scheme and many of the educationists with whom I discussed it, expressed high appreciation of the clarity and comprehensiveness with which the Deshmukh Committee had presented its views. (I have taken care to circulate beforehand copies of this Report as well as of an explanatory memorandum which I had prepared, to all those whom I was due to meet in each country so that they would be briefed in the main points to be discussed.) This does not mean that there were not many differences in views—differences which were frankly expressed and often keenly debated—but they related more to the scope of the Scheme and the approach to be adopted than to its fundamentals.

Perhaps the most controversial point which was debated back and forth almost everywhere was the question of compulsory *vs.* voluntary approach. There was a fairly general consensus of opinion that a limited and carefully considered approach, which would *actually* help to achieve the basic objectives in view, would be wiser—at least at the outset—than starting the Scheme hurriedly on a national scale and thus court the risk either of failure or of diluting the quality of the experiment. It may also be added that, in almost all countries, there was a feeling that the Indian experiment is enormously important because its success is likely to have a far-reaching and significant impact on other countries, particularly of the South East region. The persons concerned with youth schemes in Unesco also shared this view. I was glad to find that, as an indirect result of the discussions that I had with educationists in some of the countries, there was a quickening of interest, on their part, in the idea of social service by youth and a willingness to explore the possibility of initiating some similar scheme in their own country. All of them wanted to be kept in touch with developments in India in this field both as a matter of general educational interest and as likely to be helpful in their own work along these lines. As a background to the discussion of our issues pertaining to the Scheme, I have given in the chapters that follow some idea of the work being done in this and related fields in different countries and, where I have considered it necessary, I have tried to evaluate it. Such an appraisal of the success (or otherwise) of the related experiences of other countries is likely to throw a good deal of light on our own problems.

Apart from the discussion of our scheme and cognate scheme in other countries, I had an opportunity to observe, or discuss, many other interesting ideas and experiments in education in different countries—some pertaining to what may be broadly called 'youth service' and others to education in general. To add to the usefulness of the Report—such as it may be—I have referred to some of these ideas briefly either in the Report or in the Appendices wherever it seemed appropriate to do so. These may be of some use in suggesting certain types of activities which we may start—or organise more effectively than at present—with the object of providing a more comprehensive pattern of "youth service".

In order to facilitate the study of the Report, it would be useful to highlight at the outset the main points that came up for discussion in various forms in connection with our scheme. The many issues which are elucidated in it as well as the concrete suggestions and recommendations made largely centre round these points :—

- (a) Should the Scheme be initiated on a *voluntary or compulsory* basis?
- (b) Should it be started in the form of carefully selected pilot projects or on a national scale?
- (c) What would be the *optimum duration* of the service? Should this period be covered in one long continuous stretch or can it be taken up by college youth in instalments, say, during successive summer vacations? How far is it advisable and feasible to postpone a student's university career or his vocational work by about a year as envisaged in the Scheme? Should there be only one set pattern and time-table for all youth or can there be several to meet different needs and situations?

- (d) What should be the *nature of the projects* undertaken and how should they be selected? How can we ensure that they would arouse the enthusiasm and spirit of adventure in the youth and, what is more difficult, maintain it throughout the period of service?
- (e) Should the Scheme be mainly concerned with manual work or include other forms of social service? If so, how should they be mutually adjusted and balanced?
- (f) If youths are asked to do laboriously and 'tearfully' a great deal of back-breaking work which can be done quickly, conveniently and economically by machines, would they be interested or look upon the labour as 'phoney'?
- (g) What are the other 'ingredients' which should be included in the programme—education, recreation, social service activities, technical training? How can they be properly integrated so as to make the experience genuinely worthwhile for the participants?
- (h) What would be the most suitable organisational set-up for a big undertaking of this kind to ensure the cooperation and participation of all deeply concerned agencies without becoming so unwieldy as to hinder quick decisions and effective implementation?
- (i) From what sources will the 'leaders' be drawn to conduct the work camps and how will they be trained? If the size or scope of the Scheme outruns the availability of good, trained leadership, what will be the consequences?
- (j) How is it possible to enlist the intelligent cooperation and support of public opinion, public leaders, the student community and the parents in the implementation of the Scheme? What are the agencies and methods of publicity and propaganda which can be mobilised for the purpose?

The National Service Scheme that we are considering in India will prove of the maximum benefit—let me repeat—when it is envisaged as a part—an important part—of the total network of activities that have been in operation in the country for several years—like Scouting, A.C.C., N.C.C., National Discipline Scheme and the University Village Apprenticeship Scheme. They are important in themselves as catering for different needs and aspects of youth development and also because many of them can pave the way towards this new and ambitious Scheme that is on the anvil. Also, a study of the experiments and experience of other countries in the field of youth service should contribute something to the enrichment of our concept of such services in our own country.

PART II

EXPERIENCES FROM ABROAD

A. France

In France there is no voluntary or compulsory service for youth in the sense in which we are envisaging this idea. In fact here, as in many other European countries, there is a strong feeling against any kind of compulsion for youth because, in their mind, compulsion is associated with the memories of Hitler's authoritarian regime which has left unhealed scars on the national mind. As a high official of the French Ministry of Education put it, the French are intensely individualistic and the only kind of compulsion that they are prepared to accept is for military service which has been part of the French national tradition for a long-time. During the Nazi regime, military service was abolished but some national organisations carried on a type of 'civil service' which provided training and drill without arms. In non-occupied France, for about two years, *Chantilly de Jeunesse* was introduced which gave the youth an opportunity to live a collective life and work on projects of national importance. Educationists and others with whom I had discussions were generally of the opinion that there was not a great deal of scope in their country for 'national service' of the kind we had under consideration. However, they were anxious to encourage in their youth a 'civic spirit' and a sense of 'mission for the community' and they were of the view that this could best be done through utilising the resources of education at all levels and through holiday camps, youth hostels, excursions and other such movements. There is also a certain apprehension that, if there was any large-scale employment of youth in national projects on the basis of free service or as "cheap labour" it will arouse the opposition of the powerful trade unions.

The French Ministry of Education have, therefore, concentrated on the promotion of different kinds of general youth activities and have adopted suitable measures for the purpose. There is a "High Commission for Youth" presided over by the Prime Minister on which all the concerned Ministries and other interested agencies are represented and which is responsible for the coordination of all activities in this field. Instructions are issued by this Commission to other Ministries etc. regarding the programmes of their activities. While the over-all direction of policy is thus centralised, there is a great deal of decentralisation in its actual implementation. There are committees at regional, district and local level on which various interests are represented and which coordinate the work of non-official organisations. There is another committee, presided over by the High Commissioner for Youth, Mr. Herzog, the famous mountaineer, which acts as a liaison agency between the representatives of the government and non-government organisations. The State enters into an agreement with approved voluntary youth organisations to encourage activities like youth tours and excursions, holidays in youth hostels and meets about 50 per cent of the expenditure incurred. It also provides special training for the directors and 'monitors' of youth hostels and youth clubs in such subjects as music, painting, drama, film appreciation, plastics which are likely to interest young men and women in clubs and hostels. This training for youth leadership is a point of special

emphasis in France. Its importance is, in fact, generally recognised and stressed in all the countries that I visited. An International Congress of Youth Leaders which was organised in early 1960, under Unesco auspices and was attended by delegates from 15 countries, placed such training as a very high priority item in youth work. So far, the preliminary course of training in France for youth leaders has been a short one—for about two weeks—but many of the trainees return for further short courses for three successive years when they become eligible to receive a diploma. Short in-service training courses are also provided for Primary school teachers as youth leaders. From this year, a new advanced one-year course has been started for training youth leaders for more responsible positions. I had an opportunity to visit the *Institute d' Education Nationale Populaire* at Marly where this new course has been initiated. This is the central institute for such training, established in 1953, which conducts courses of different kinds and duration for persons above 18 years of age who have already done some youth work in scouting or youth clubs or houses of culture etc. The centre provides training not only in special skills, arts and crafts but also aims at giving a general understanding of, and interest in, youth problems as they arise in the context of modern life—social integration, international understanding, new ideas and experiments in social sciences and new ways of dealing with moral and psychological troubles. In addition to the regular staff, teachers, writers, artists, social scientists, technicians, administrators drawn from various walks of life are invited to come and discuss these problems with the trainees who are given previously prepared briefing documents.

I enquired how a course which lasted for only a fortnight can make much of an impact on the trainees and change their attitudes or deepen their understanding. I was told that, if care was taken to maintain the quality of lectures and discussions, such a course could prove quite useful. Some of the participants, with whom I discussed the point, said that these lectures and discussions awakened new interests and insights which were consolidated later through field work and the courses which they attended in subsequent years.

There are many youth organisations in the country open to all, irrespective of race or religion, and they help to select candidates—both students and non-students in the age-group 18 to 30—from their own regions and localities to participate in youth tours and live in holiday homes and camps. The duration of the camps varies from one to two months. During this period, they participate in many practical activities and study social conditions in the neighbouring localities.

The 'summer camp movement' is quite strong in France. During the vacation, youths live in camps for three to six weeks where they do cultural as well as manual work. About eight to ten thousand youths participate in such camps every year which are supervised by the "permanent functionaries" of the youth movement. Government gives financial help for training instructors, providing publicity through press and radio and finding the right kind of work in right places. The 'work' undertaken includes projects like constructing houses for the poor, building youth hostels and sport centres, providing water and electricity, tree planting, afforestation, help in archaeological excavations and emergency assistance at the time of floods, famines and earthquakes. I was told that a very large majority of the students return to such work next year, 'because they like it'. The *Service*

Civile Internationale (International Voluntary Service for Peace) is specially interested in organising such camps. It will be noticed that, while these camps are of short duration and the number of participants involved is comparatively small, the kind of work-experience which they attempt to provide for youth is not dissimilar to what we wish to provide through our scheme.

Closely allied to this movement are the "Holiday Camps" organised for children and adolescents in the 6—18 age-group by voluntary organisations, business and industrial concerns and educational institutions, with some financial help from Government. Their scope is much wider as they cover about one and a half million children and the number of monitors and directors—many of them honorary workers—is about one lakh. There are about 14,000 such centres scattered all over the country and the number of children in each camp varies from 50 to 300. The object of these camps is to improve the children's health, to create in them a sense of discipline and to engage them in some useful practical activities and manual work.

I visited one such centre *Air France Colonie de Vacances* (Holiday Camp organised by Air France) for children of its employees in the 6—13 age-group. The camp is situated in the heart of a beautiful forest and these children spend one to two months there with the special object of improving their health. Education is given in health habits, community living, road safety and hobbies like painting, wire work, puppetry and gardening. Excursions are organised to cultivate interest in nature study. The general atmosphere is happy, healthy and colourful and good supervision is ensured by employing adequate staff for the purpose. In this camp, for instance, there was one fully trained directress, one assistant director and one monitor for every group of 11 children. The expenses are shared by Air France, Government and the parents, whose children utilise these camps, contribute one per cent of their salary for the period. Air France has such camps in different regions and many other industrial and business concerns have organised similar camps for the benefit of their employees' children.

In addition to these activities at the national level, there is a 'Bureau of Youth Activities and International Contacts' which gives financial help to various private organisations to encourage international contacts amongst the youth and provides travel grants for them to visit neighbouring countries. This is obviously much easier in European countries where the distances are comparatively smaller than it would be in a country like ours.

It is interesting to point out that, in spite of all these movements, only a small minority of student population joins organised youth movements. I was informed that the percentage may be only about 15 and of these about 60 to 70 per cent are drawn from the Catholic youth, as the 'collective idea is more familiar and acceptable to the Catholic Church'. Again, the majority of such youth are drawn from the upper and middle classes and perhaps only about 10 per cent are drawn from the working classes. I would hesitate to draw any general conclusions from these facts—because of my inadequate acquaintance with the totality of the French situation—but I am inclined to think that this indicates the importance of various youth movements being closely associated with schools and colleges so that youths, who are not inclined to become members of large outside organisations, may find an outlet for their interests and energies in and through their educational institutions.

B. Yugoslavia

The main object of my visit was to study whether and how the work camp movement has been organised in the various countries included in my programme. From this point of view, my experience in Yugoslavia was the most impressive because there the movement has been organised both successfully and in a spectacular manner. The kind of work that is being done by youth in the country comes nearest to the type of projects that we wish to include in our programme of National Service and there is a certain similarity of outlook in the place given to hard manual work and to suitable educational and cultural programmes in the pattern of the Scheme. It would, therefore, be useful to include a somewhat full account of my observations and discussions in that country. I shall first deal with the existing set-up of the youth organisations and their activities, then refer to the changes made in the educational system to bring education nearer to community life and finally consider the work camp drives and their implications for our scheme.

The Yugoslav youth organisation is about 40 years old, having been founded after the First World War. It had close links with the Communist Party at the time and was naturally persecuted by the then Government. Its resources were also very limited. At the outset of the Second World War, it had about 80,000 members who worked in the anti-Fascist resistance movement and, amongst other things, collected food, clothing and other necessities for their soldiers. At the end of the War, the two parallel organisations, Anti-Fascist League and the Communist Youth League, which had similar purposes were amalgamated into one organisation—the Central Committee of Peoples Youth—which has now a membership of about one and a half million in the age-group, 16—25 years, including party members as well as non-members who are prepared to accept the programme and constitution of the organisation. This represents about 75 per cent of the total number in this age-group and consists mainly of worker youths and rural youths.

The primary object of this 'social, political and cultural organisation' is twofold :

- (a) To discover the cultural and vocational interests of youths and organise suitable activities for promoting these interests, *e.g.*, sports, scouting, holiday homes, mountaineering, cultural and social programmes and hobbies. Under the Central Committee there are separate wings for students, rural youth, intellectuals ("whose needs and interests may differ from the others to some extent") and specialist organisations looking after the different specialised activities mentioned above.
- (b) To make the youth feel that they have a crucial role to play in the programme of national development and should learn to take initiative and responsibility for building socialism in the country. This is only possible when the youth projects can be so organised and presented that they will not be an imposition from above but evoke enthusiastic and willing participation. I was informed that, in order to encourage this feeling, some representatives of youth are also included amongst the members of local government bodies, workers councils and school boards so that they may learn to shoulder serious responsibilities. They also participate in the formulation of detailed annual Plans which are prepared locally in the context of the National Five-Year Plan and thus learn about the trends and schemes of planned development in the country.

The Central Committee also acts as an educational agency with wide ramifications and, in this respect, it differs markedly from our own youth organisations whose interests are generally more limited and have an emphatic political bias. It organises large numbers of evening courses and seminars—for periods of three to six months—dealing mainly with civic and political education, with the help of instructors who are drawn from all available and suitable sources. The subjects included are generally those of practical and living interest, *e.g.*, social, political and economic system of different countries, role of youth in nation-building, participation in communes etc. Shorter courses are organised for about a fortnight on subjects like agriculture, commerce and cultural developments in the field of art, drama and music etc. The actual work of organising them is done through local branches spread all over the country.

I paid a visit to the "Children's Pioneer City" near Belgrade. This is a beautiful and colourfully arranged park where children come for week-ends, for week-long visits as well as for one to two months' stay in summer holidays. There is no rigidly organised programme but many facilities are available to enable children to enjoy themselves. About 250 children can be accommodated in the Camp for the night and, in addition, many children from the neighbouring places come only for the day. During the year about 80,000 children come to the camp for short or long visits. The 'City' provides a library, a reading room, a dining room, a technical workshop and equipment for sports, gymnastics, etc. The Pioneer Club arranges excursions and activities like poultry and bee-keeping. Some of the children's groups are accompanied by their own teachers and there is, in addition, a regular staff to look after the organisation of the Camp and its activities.

"The largest independent organisation of youth" in Yugoslavia is the Holiday Union which is not affiliated to the Central Youth Organisation but maintains good and helpful relations with it. Its main function is to organise travel facilities for youth to visit industrial centres, farms, places of cultural and historic interest and to go on excursion to holiday homes, youth hostels and health resorts. Membership of the Union is voluntary and open to students as well as non-students between the ages of 15 and 24 but actually a large majority of the youth in this age-group are members. It has its branches in schools, factories, business concerns and different regions and districts through which participants are selected and tours organised. The duration of the tour is one to three weeks and a group usually consists of about 30 youths. There is a small membership fee of 400 *dinars* (about Rs. 5) per annum out of which administrative expenses are met. Students pay their own travelling expenses at a concessional rate of 25 per cent and they are charged 250 *dinars* (about Rs. 3) per diem for board and lodging in youth hostels. There are about 50 such hostels on the sea-side and an equal number in big cities and historical and cultural sites of importance.

I was interested to note that the youth organisations shoulder their responsibilities in an efficient and responsible manner and there is no tendency to over-supervision of their activities by adults or by official agencies. Youth groups which go out on these tours are expected to look after themselves and are not accompanied by teachers. My general impression is that, in these various activities, the youths behave in a responsible way and there is a corresponding readiness on the part of educational authorities etc. to give them a free hand in organising their activities.

I had an opportunity to discuss the general educational pattern in Yugoslavia with the staff of the Federal Institute of Educational Research and was interested to find that not only many of their problems were similar to our own but they were seeking their solution and trying to reconstruct educational system along somewhat similar lines. They also start with the assumption that one of the most important aims of educational reform should be to bring education nearer to the life of the community. This idea inspires a good deal of their educational effort—in the field of direct schooling as well as in out-of-school activities. The General Law of Education lays down the broad outline of the syllabus and the curriculum, which the Republics are free to adjust to regional needs. Local councils, which are actively interested in education and include representatives of all concerned interests, can include additional material or delete unnecessary material in the light of their local needs.

At the Primary school level, as in India, there has been considerable change in the contents of education through the elimination of useless subject-matter and inclusion of significant material bearing on contemporary life as well as the children's cultural heritage. Contents of social studies and general science have been vitalised and modernised to meet the changing social situation and technical subjects have been introduced to give skill in handling tools and materials and link the school with the industrial and vocational situation. In almost all schools, workshops have been set up for wood work, metal work and domestic science. But, on account of the great destruction during the war years, there are not enough school buildings yet and the pressure of numbers has made two or even three shifts necessary in the bigger cities. Provision is being made increasingly for vocational guidance given by teacher-counsellors who provide information about available careers, try to discover the students' special aptitudes, advise about the choice of suitable occupations and arrange orientation visits to local industries and enterprises. All these measures are part of the effort to bridge the gulf between the school and out-of-school world.

As in other educationally progressive countries, free extra-curricular activities are actively encouraged in schools. There are academic groups (to study special aspects of various prescribed subjects), cultural groups for art, drama, music etc., young technicians, groups for radio construction, electrical and mechanical projects, 'physical education groups' and 'cooperative groups' for such activities as bee-keeping, gardening, poultry which have been given a productive and economic emphasis. The cooperative movement is quite active in the schools. From 3,600 cooperatives with four lakhs of children as members in 1958-59, the number rose to 4,500 cooperatives with seven lakhs of members in 1960-61. They are particularly popular in villages and through them children learn many things—from weeding to tractor driving and using modern agricultural techniques—sometimes they show better and quicker results than the adult groups!

There are many out-of-school activities, organised on a voluntary basis through Pioneer groups, which also assist in the process of rapprochement between education and life, e.g., scouting, Red Cross, mountaineering. The teachers' aim is to ensure that every child should become a member of *at least* one such group. I was told that there was a proposal to organise a national festival in 1961 at which there would be an impressive display of the records and the products of all such group activities so as to present a

spectacular conspectus of the country's social, cultural and material heritage and give a comprehensive idea of its present problems and future plans. The idea is to some extent reminiscent of our cultural parade on the occasion of the Republic Day, with the difference that the Yugoslavian scheme aims at presenting this parade through the work of the schools.

In the Secondary schools the general principles of educational reorganisation are similar and the same kind of free activities are encouraged. But they are naturally organised by senior students with greater initiative and confidence and carried on to a more advanced degree. An interesting feature of the Secondary schools is that students are required to spend a fortnight every year in a farm, factory, workshop or some other enterprise doing practical work of different kinds. Students welcome this opportunity, though some enterprises have found it difficult to accommodate all the students. Recently, Parliament has adopted a resolution to the effect that all enterprises (of a certain minimum magnitude) should provide such work facilities to students. This kind of work experience is useful in itself and may also become part of the orientation programme for the work camps.

In the field of methods of work there is an interesting movement to introduce the idea of seminars in Secondary schools. Students select special study projects on which they concentrate and the reports that they prepare are presented to their teachers as well as fellow students for discussion and criticism. Arising out of this experiment, a new examination system has been introduced since last year which replaces the usual written examination. Every student chooses a special theme in his final year on which, after careful study and thought, he prepares a long report with his teachers' help. On the basis of this report, a *viva voce* examination is held at which other students have a right to be present and to join the discussion and raise questions. The object of this *viva* is to test the maturity and the general competence of the student to undertake independent work. Both the teachers and the students are reported to have welcomed this new experiment, though it involves harder work on the part of the teachers who may have to learn new topics and techniques to guide their students in the themes selected! As they are free to choose any reasonable theme, this approach to teaching and examination becomes an exacting challenge to the faculty members. I asked how this had reacted on the examination results and was informed that while formerly the percentage of failures had been about 10, it was now considerably less!

In one form or another the work camp movement in this country has been going on for about twenty years.* The first "Sana Youth Work Brigade" was formed in Bosnia in 1942, consisting mainly of girls, to gather the crops 'from under the very nose of the enemy' and to pass it on to the people's army. While exact data about the work done in the early years of the movement is not available, it is reported that between 1942 and 1945, when the war ended, the youth gave about '35 million voluntary work days' in various youth drives. But while the original impulse for these work drives came from the emergency created by the war, it was continued because of the imperative need to reconstruct the war-ravaged country. In this adventure, a special and significant role was assigned to youth. During the years

* A good deal of the factual material in this part of the Chapter has been taken from the publication: "Youth Work Drives in Yugoslavia".

immediately following the War, the youth brigades made themselves responsible for "clearing away the rubble, repairing roads and railways, restoring factories and schools and collecting scrap iron, rags, papers and other raw materials indispensable for the factories". It would be interesting to reproduce here some data, given in the official publications, to indicate the extent of the work done. During the first half of 1946, seven lakh young persons gave about 60 lakh volunteer work days and built several thousand new houses, repaired 5,700 damaged houses and 805 school buildings, tilled about 16 lakh acres of land and planted 10 million saplings. From 1946, several major projects were taken up by the youth brigades. The first such project was the Brcko-Banovici Railway of which 90 kilometers were completed between May and November 1946 through the voluntary efforts of over 62,000 youths working in shifts of two months each. Similar projects were undertaken to build the Samac-Sarajevo Railway—with over 217,000 youths—and the Dobaj-Banja Luka Railway with over 86,000 youths. In addition, seven minor railways and miniature railways for children were also built. Other types of projects included building of industrial plants and factories, erecting water power stations, digging canals and regulating the courses of rivers.

All this work was reported to have been done on a voluntary basis. In view of the large scale on which it has been going on, I was particularly interested in ascertaining whether it was really organised on a voluntary basis or, in view of the nature of the political set-up in the country, the frontiers between voluntary and compulsory labour were rather vague and ill-defined. On the basis of what I have read in the reports, my discussions with persons concerned and the personal observations made by me, I am satisfied that the element of compulsion does not enter into it except such moral pressure and persuasion as public opinion amongst the students themselves may be able to exercise. I was told, for instance, by a trustworthy Yugoslav parent that, a few years back, from one particular class in her daughter's school she was the only one who volunteered for the work camp; next year about one-third of the class offered to go and last year all the thirty students showed keenness to participate! All those who offer to come in cannot be accommodated and usually two or three times the number actually required for any particular project volunteer to join. Actual selection of participants is made through the youth organisations which are to be found at all levels, from the federal to the local, and in most factories and business concerns. The camps are open to young men as well as women above 15 years of age, both students and non-students. The former put in at least 35 days' work during the vacation while the latter—mainly youth drawn from rural areas—work for about two months during the part of the year when agricultural work is not heavy. They are given free board, lodging and work clothes and their travelling expenses from their homes to the site of the camp are met. No other payment of any kind is made except some coupons (worth a few *dinars* per day) against which they can buy things like razor blades or tooth paste from the camp store. It is considered improper to make any *cash* payment (even of such a small amount) for the social service that they are called upon to render.

The question actually arises : what is the motivation behind the enthusiastic and wide response made to this movement by the youth? The full answer will become clearer in due course but I may point out that, in response to a direct question which I put to many participants in camps, they

stated that there were three things which appealed to them and attracted them to the camps.

First, the nature of the projects. These were carefully selected and appealed to the imagination and spirit of adventure in youth. Why? Because they were arduous, perceptibly useful to the nation or the local community and gave them a genuine sense of achievement. They felt that they were really making a significant contribution to the programme of nation-building. These projects are usually selected by the federal or local authorities and youth organisations are invited to carry them out. They may range from federal projects—like building hundreds of miles of rail-roads or the International Highway from the Austrian to the Greek border—to local and regional projects, like land irrigation, building schools, cultural houses and youth hostels, afforestation, reclaiming a flooded island (near Zagreb) and constructing industrial plants required under the Plan. Care is taken to see that they are real projects, not 'made work' and offer a genuine challenge to the youth.

Second, the programme of the camp involves interesting educational, social and cultural activities and a rich community life. This is an attraction to youth drawn from different towns and villages where community life of such scope and variety may not be available for them. Lectures on social, political and scientific topics are given not only by prominent invitees from outside but also by the participants themselves after due preparation in their fields of special competence. A special paper 'Youth at the Highway' is published to keep the brigades interested in, and informed about, the total project. This trains some of the youth in the techniques of editing and publication.

Third, the programme includes a variety of technical training courses which can be completed within a comparatively short time, *e.g.*, motor driving, tractor driving, radio mechanism, welding, wood carving etc. This particularly appeals to the rural youth who get the necessary technical training free, and later, after passing the prescribed tests where required, they can adopt these trades as their whole-time or part-time occupations.

This triple motivation—apart from the prestige value attached to this work by the nation—draws very large numbers of students to the camps and gives them a sense of social worthfulness which is an antidote against a feeling of frustration. "Cassandra was a pessimist. If she had fought in the battle of Troy, she would not have been a pessimist". This is a lesson which youths of all nations need to learn who are struggling for a better life. Grace and hope and optimism will only come to those who are part of the struggle and not to the grumblers or to the lazy and the idle rich who watch the drama from the 'privileged' seats!

In my discussions in Yugoslavia as well as many other countries a point that often came up for discussion was: Are youth work camps an 'economical' way of carrying on such projects? Different answers were offered to this question, depending on the national circumstances as well as the point of view of the persons concerned and I shall discuss the question with reference to our own situation later. In Yugoslavia, however, I was told—to my surprise—that the output of these 'youth brigades' was often greater and work was completed more quickly than by the paid workers. They are more enthusiastic, work under better social and health conditions, are generally happy and contented and, under a certain sense of group competition, their achievements often exceed the targets laid down for them. (I saw evidence

of this on a small scale in other countries also.) But it is well to remember that neither here—nor elsewhere—is the economic element the decisive factor in the situation. It is the educational aspect that matters most, the social and psychological benefits that can accrue from such an experience if it is well planned and directed. These educational objectives and expectations have been defined here in terms which are strongly reminiscent of the point of view expressed in the Deshmukh Committee Report. According to one formulation, these work camps :—

- (a) make it possible to combine intellectual and practical work;
- (b) help in the process of national integration by bringing together youths from different classes and countries and from different regions of the country;
- (c) develop a certain common outlook and pride in the achievements of the country; and
- (d) cultivate better social relations and habits and improve the health of the participants.

The Yugoslav youths who were working on one of the major railway projects in 1946 expressed their response pithily in the words :

“We are building the railway; the railway is building us”.

It seems clear to me that unless the work camps are so organised that the participants experience a sense of personal enrichment and fulfilment, they cannot become a creative educational influence in the life of youth. This principle has a direct bearing on the spirit which should inspire our scheme and the methods we should use in its implementation.

In order to give some idea of the actual organisation of work camps, it would be useful to explain the working of two of the important projects which I actually saw in operation—the construction of the international highway at Nis and reclamation of a flooded island near Belgrade.

The Road Building Project, which aims at constructing a first class highway from the Austrian frontier to the Greek frontier, is one of the most ambitious projects taken up by the youth brigades in Yugoslavia. This is part of the international highway that runs from Calais to Istanbul. The portion that passes through Yugoslavia was in a very poor condition. The decision to build the new road was taken by the Government who have financed the enterprise while the Central Youth Organisation offered to provide the necessary labour for the purpose. The project was started in 1948, carried on for five years and was then resumed in 1958. During the intervening period 1953-1958, no major projects were undertaken but a number of ‘local drives’ were organised through which the youth brigades concentrated on taking up projects of local significance which would meet immediate community needs. According to the published reports, in these five years, many minor roads were built, 4,000 cooperative halls were constructed in villages, facilities were provided for recreation and sports in about 5,000 centres, school buildings were put up or repaired and afforestation schemes were implemented. Over a million youth took part in these drives, usually living in camps and working in shifts of less than two months.

In 1959 when the Sixth Congress of the Peoples Youth of Yugoslavia was being held there was a poll to determine whether federal youth drives—which aimed at major projects—should be revived and 84 per cent of the

youth responded with a vigorous affirmative. Amongst the reason for their adoption, which were endorsed by the youth who took part in the poll, were the following :

"The work drive educates youth by socially useful labour; it should be kept up in all the conditions and circumstances of social life".

"The work drive is a task which our community has assigned to youth, and the young man who loves his community cannot decline this task".

"The work drive is part of the effort which our working people are making to create better living conditions and (should continue) as long as this is necessary and the work drive is reasonable".

"The work drive is a way to bring young people together who feel an urge for collective living; it depends on circumstances whether or not we shall consider this manner of bringing young people together beneficial or harmful".

Only four per cent demurred to the idea because it may cost more to complete such projects through youth work drives. The President of the Republic endorsed the proposal and expressed the view that this should be done even if they cost more than paid labour work because it was a sacrifice well worth making in order to produce men and women of good calibre and social qualities.

Since then, during the last three years, about 175 kilometres of road have been constructed and now a new 700 kilometres long road named "Unity Fraternity Road" is in actual use. It is expected that the remaining 300 kms. will be built by 1963 when this project will be completed. This is how the report of the project describes the road in technical terms :

"The Unity Fraternity Road will be 1079 kilometres long. By the beginning of 1960, 641 kilometres have been completed. It is a modern road, it is not crossed by other roads at the same level; the roadway is of asphalt or concrete-cement and the bends and inclines have been built so that they may be overcome at undiminished speed up to one hundred kilometres an hour. The highway is attractive; it is edged with concrete-cement and asphalt ribbon. All the building work, the viaducts, bridges, passes are built of concrete-cement and are attractive to the eye, planned to fit in with the surroundings. The significance of this trunk road will be evident only if the fact is taken into account that the pre-war roads are totally unfit for modern traffic. The journey by car from Ljubljana to Zagreb used to require four hours; now it requires only an hour and a half".

This is a very big project which has cost billions of *dinars*. (The budget provision for 1960 is 9.5 billion *dinars*.) Its proper administration, therefore, is a matter of great importance. At the top there is a Committee of Investment, representing the Government which includes engineers, lawyers, commercial experts. It considers the financial soundness of the project and holds the funds on behalf of Government. Then there is the "Construction Enterprise" (or the Company) which provides the technicians, engineers and other skilled personnel as well as the heavy machinery needed for the work, e.g., cement making and laying machines. It also buys the materials and looks after the technical operations. The General Headquarters Committee of the Youth Work Brigades which is appointed by the Central Committee of the Peoples Youth and consists of experienced youth leaders, is

responsible for providing the requisite manpower for unskilled and semi-skilled work, for the supervision of the camp life as a whole and for organising social and cultural activities. The kitchen, hostels and other physical amenities are looked after by a committee on which the representatives of the youth as well as the staff members like the doctor, the engineer and the technical training supervisor are represented. Frequent consultation meetings are held between these three wings of the organisation which are of benefit to all concerned. They help in evolving a common and balanced outlook and give an insight into the numerous problems involved in managing such large enterprises. A brigade consists of 120 members, divided into groups of 30 youths, who are often drawn from different regions of the country. The Chief of the Staff for the camp (or 'settlement' as it is preferably called) is appointed by the Central Youth Organisation and with him are associated six other members selected by the Republican Youth Committee. Each brigade selects its own leader and deputy leader who look after the detailed organisation and supervision of camp activities and thus receive training in leadership.

The work goes on for about eight or nine months in the year, being stopped during the severe winter months. The student brigades work in rotation for 35 days each during the summer vacation and the non-student brigades for two months each. There has been no opposition to such work being done by youth on the part of the trade unions, because there is full employment and, in fact, not enough workers are available to do all the work that needs to be done.¹ I was told that there was no difficulty in finding the requisite number of youth. If 50,000 are needed more than double the number offer to come in. Actual selection of participants for federal as well as local projects is made, as already indicated, by local youth organisations, after a proper medical examination. The "brigadiers" are expected to do manual work as a rule for six hours a day, though many of them are willing to work overtime and, in some cases, the six hours output is as much as that of eight hours of paid labour! The rest of the time is free for social, cultural and vocational activities and technical training. As already mentioned, these work camps attract the youth because they provide an element of adventure and a sense of social worthfulness; they enable young persons to establish rewarding social contacts; evening programmes of dance, drama, music, lectures and discussions enrich their minds and interests and there is an opportunity for them to learn useful trades and skills on a voluntary basis in the afternoons.

In the particular work camp at Nis, where the headquarters of the road building project is located and several thousand youths are at work, about one-third of the "brigadiers" are girls. They participate fully in the hard, manual work involved in the project—I saw them actually at work, digging the earth, carrying it from place to place, hauling bricks etc.—and mix freely in the social and cultural programmes. But, so far as I was able to find out, no complaints have arisen on this score and fairly strict discipline is maintained to ensure that due respect and consideration is shown to the girl 'brigadiers'.

In addition to the Yugoslav youth, in this project an "international brigade" has always participated, consisting of foreign students who come

¹ I was surprised to learn that, on account of the dearth of skilled labour, there was a proposal to recruit ten thousand Turks for working on the railways!

every year to join the work. I was informed that, in the last ten years, about 15,000 foreign students have taken part in this constructive adventure and about 500 youth, drawn from 22 countries, are expected in the course of this year. I came across a group of 13 Indian students (mostly belonging to the Youth Congress) who were working in the Nis Camp and when I discussed our scheme with them, they seemed to favour the idea of compulsion in our national situation, as they were not sure that adequate number of students will be forthcoming for this work on a voluntary basis. They also referred to the relationship of this project to the employment situation and expressed the view that "where there is full employment waiting for youth at the end of the national service, neither compulsion nor any special rewards or inducements are necessary to attract students to national service". There is considerable validity in this viewpoint but, on the contrary, I also found that in some countries where there is full employment, the youth are anxious to start working immediately after their education and are not inclined to give much time to social service. It was made clear to me by the youth organisations etc. that work in these camps is not given any special material recognition, preference or reward, but is treated as *social service* in the strict sense of the word. The only form of public recognition accorded is the 'decoration' of the best brigade as well as individual brigade members, with outstanding achievements to their credit, by a decree of the President of the Republic.

During their service in the camp, the participants are given free board and lodging, work uniforms and blankets in winter (supplied by the army). They also receive a nominal pocket money of the value of about 350 *dinars* p.m. (Rs. 4.50) in the form of coupons to buy everyday necessities like soap, blades, tobacco etc. In the early years of the project, the accommodation provided was very austere and it was not possible to make arrangements for some of the necessary material and physical amenities. Since then, however, the youth working on the major projects live in what may veritably be called "youth towns" which provide reasonably good tented accommodation or huts. But there are many needed collective amenities which make life in the camp pleasant and comfortable, e.g., a fully-equipped first-aid station, open-air cinema, library, sports grounds, public address system and a well-organised modern kitchen. Special care is given to the health of the youth. There is systematic weighing at their arrival and departure and, thanks to the open air, the active life and the nutritive and balanced food provided, they invariably improve in health and gain in weight. It is reported that 70 per cent of the youth gained *on the average* two and a half kilograms in weight during their stay in camp and an increase in lung capacity from one hundred to five hundred centimetres. Similarly, "strength as measured by means of the dynamometer increased, in the case of 80 per cent young people, by 3 to 5 kilograms". Games and sports are assiduously encouraged and the youth take part in them with enthusiasm. Incidentally, this opportunity is also utilised to train promising youths as sports coaches who can later organise games and sports in their villages and towns. The general position about health is summed up in the report in the following words :—

"The state of health of the participants in the drives is on an average considerably better than that of the population at large which is the result of the complete health protection which starts with prophylactic measures. And only after a material basis has thus been secured can life in the towns of youth really evolve unimpeded".

The provision of technical courses forms an important part of the total programme. About 20 different courses were being offered at different camps—tractor driving, motor driving, bricklaying, agriculture, radio engineering, photography, cinema projection, household appliances, etc. Some of the participants who wish to complete the courses are welcome to stay on longer in the camp. Government has constituted a special "Central Fund for Technical Development" to which Government, factories, industries, local bodies all contribute and the expenses incurred on technical instruction in camps are met out of this fund.

I made enquiries from the Central Youth Organisation as well as the "Camp Chief" and others about any special difficulties of organisation or discipline that they may have come across in this work. The gist of their answer was that there were many administrative problems and difficulties in the beginning but experience has solved most of them. Their main concern seemed to be that they had not enough resources to be able to take in all the youth who wanted to come in. In reply to a question about the procedure for settling disciplinary problems or disputes, I was informed that they were dealt with *either* by the 'Conference of the Brigade' at which all members are present *or* by the Council of the Brigade which includes the group commandants and their deputies, the doctor, the economist and the leader of the technical courses. In extreme cases of continued slackness or objectionable personal behaviour, the highest penalty was expulsion which was regarded as a great disgrace and there were actually very few cases where it had to be imposed. The general tone of discipline and standard of conduct were high and inter-brigade competitions helped in improving both efficiency and discipline. In these competitions several factors are taken into account like the output of work, discipline, hygiene, cultural activities and recreational games, etc.

I travelled about 50 kms. on the newly built road as well as the road that is under construction and found that the youth were generally happy and enthusiastic and did not grudge the hard physical labour which they had to put in. "After a few days the hand blisters disappear". I saw heavy machines being utilised for laying cement and mixing special quality of mud. These were either operated by skilled mechanics or, in some cases, by youth who had acquired the necessary competence.

A special "cultural programme" was arranged by the brigade in our honour without any previous notice or preparation. It was an hour and a half programme of improvised music, skits and speeches generously interspersed by slogans like "Nehru-Tito Build the Peace" and an expression of high appreciation and love for the Prime Minister of India. The response to his name was so enthusiastic that it could not possibly be a routine courtesy. I felt that it really came from the heart of these hundreds of Yugoslav youths.

I also had an opportunity to visit the "Island Project" in the neighbourhood of Belgrade. This island is a favourite spot for excursion and picnics by the children, the youth as well as the adults. It gets flooded for two or three months every year and, in order to make it usable for the whole year, a project was devised to divert the course of the river, to build a lake for overflow water and construct bunds, about 4.5 kms. long, on both sides of the island so as to stop the erosion of the banks by the swift waters of the river.

The project has been planned by the local youth organisation in consultation with a firm of architects and engineers and the city council has provided the requisite funds. Although the work is being done with due regard to economy, the total expenditure is likely to be about 1.5 milliard *dinars*. It will take nearly two years to complete the project and the League of Peoples Youth will send 40 brigades (each composed of 120 youth) during the year. Each brigade will work for 35 days during the vacation. I gathered the impression, as I went round the actual site of the work as well as the camp, that the youth were interested in, and enthusiastic about, the project and were enjoying the experience of living and working together. This is partly confirmed by the report that for putting in 30,000 cubic metres of earth, it was estimated that about three months will normally be required but the work was actually completed by the concerned brigades in 25 days!

While the physical and material achievements of these youth work drives are undoubtedly impressive, it is important to appreciate their educational and psychological significance—particularly so because the motivation of our own scheme is primarily educational rather than economic. While in the CCC programme as worked out in the United States the primary urge was economic—to meet the emergency of the unemployment situation—and educational results, at least in the early stages, were largely a bye-product, in Yugoslavia there has been a conscious cultural and educational emphasis from the outset. According to the report on youth work drives, these camps “have become a school of a special type for the manifold education of youth, starting with the cultivation of labour habits and ending with varied technical training, while also offering favourable conditions for a wealth of recreation and sports. After fifteen years’ experience it may, indeed, be said that the youth work drives have changed the face of the country. Although the value of the railways and roads, factories and localities, waterpower plants and stadia is enormous in itself, perhaps the result is even more significant in the educational respect.” “It is not important to count cubic metres of earth and concrete-cement moved by the young people or kilometres of railways and road laid through the country over hills and dales. *The important thing is the consciousness which appears along this road*”. “Cadres have been trained at the work drives who already bear a great part of the management in every branch of the country’s social life”.

This is a view and an appraisal of the impact of such work on youth which, significantly enough, I found echoed at the other end of the world—in the United States of America—with reference to their large scale experiment with the Civilian Conservation Corps in the 1930’s.

C. Germany

Before Hitler came to power in Germany, voluntary labour service had been initiated under the Weimer Republic and the first camp was organised in 1925. The objectives of the scheme were largely similar to ours—mutual understanding and enrichment of experience through common work and play and cultural activities, giving the educated and the intellectual a chance to work with their hands, bringing together persons belonging to different classes and establishing contact with the local community. When depression started in 1930 and unemployment became acute, the scheme which was being worked by private groups was taken over by the

Federal Government and arrangements were made to provide (or finance) camp facilities for youth between 18 and 25 who were prepared to join. In 1932, about 2.75 lakhs of youth were voluntarily enrolled in the camps. (When compulsion was introduced by Hitler, the number rose to an average of 300,000 which does not represent a very large increase.) They took up various projects like road building, drainage of land and preparing it for cultivation, work in forest, planning gardens in the homes of the poor and the aged. Women carried on activities like cooking, sewing and similar other necessary work in the general camps and, in their own camps, they raised vegetables, looked after needy children, helped poor people in their house work and performed all kinds of social service in slum areas. According to Kenneth Holland,¹ "these camps completed work projects of great value by 1932 and had become an important part of the educational system. They were so successful and popular that during the last few months of 1932, plans were developed to encourage *all* students, who completed higher education, to spend an orientation period of several months in them". But then the lengthening shadow of Hitler fell over the country and other forces came into play which completely changed the complexion of the situation. During the Nazi regime, people had a very sore and unpleasant experience of the Labour Camps and their attitude is still dominated by it.

The Nazis took over the Labour Service Camps from the Weimar Republic, made it compulsory for all youth, imposed a rigid, militaristic (or semi-military) pattern on it and transformed it into an instrument for the inculcation of Nazi ideology. Physical training was imparted on military lines, a rigid military discipline was enforced under which all orders had to be unquestioningly carried out and even the punishments were inflicted on the same lines as in the army. As this immediately preceded the period of military conscription, it became for all intents and purposes a part of military training. Earlier attempts to introduce compulsion had failed in 1924, 1928 and 1930 and the bill never became law but the Nazis moved towards this goal steadily. The professional organisations required a certificate from every candidate that he had put in a certain period of labour service and the National Union of German Students had decided that every student should do so before matriculating at a university. In some States every university teacher and in others every employee was compulsorily required to put in such service. In 1935, the Nazi Government made it compulsory under the Law for every boy and girl to put in six months of service under the penalty of losing the rights of citizenship.

It is interesting to note that the aims and values of these camps, as presented in theory by the Nazis, were not very different from those enunciated by other free countries or what we have done in our own scheme. The object was stated to be to rectify the over-emphasis of the intellect, (which Hitler called 'sterile intellectualism') to bring about a balanced development of 'the emotions, the will and the soul' and to ensure that life is not identified with knowledge. In more specific terms, these were defined as emotional and social integration leading to a breaking down of class barriers, physical development, respect for manual labour (the motto was "*Arbeit adelt*" or "work ennobles") which may counteract 'impractical tendencies', inculcation of patriotism, an understanding of German

1. Kenneth Holland: Youth in European Labour Camps.

culture and a capacity to make sacrifices in the service of the nation. It was also asserted by the supreme leader of these camps that if "the educational idea of the labour service is taken away or pushed into the background, it would rob the labour service of its soul". But the soul did disappear and the loss was not even noticed! This shows that fine phrases and programmes can go wrong if they are not worked in the right spirit and the inspiration is unhealthy. No freedom or initiative was allowed to the youth; they were actually passed through a stream rolling process from which they would emerge as if they were cast in a rigid, uniform mould. Special emphasis was certainly laid on health and physical education but there was little training in vocational skills, and the educational programmes, which were centrally planned from Berlin, were rigid and highly tendentious. The instructors were all indoctrinated Nazis and there were few from outside the party or the camp staff who could present any different point of view. As a result of this atmosphere of compulsion and regimentation and in spite of all the indoctrination, the movement was reported (by outsiders who studied it) to be unpopular amongst 60 per cent of the participants. Their faces were tense and drawn showing no *joie de vivre*, no feeling of freedom or self-expression. They resented the compulsion to spend six months in labour service in addition to two years of military service. This is not to suggest that there were no positive results at all from these camps—there was physical development, and experience of participation in manual work, habits of promptness, punctuality and a certain mechanical type of discipline were built up. Under the strict discipline maintained in the camps many large and important projects were carried out successfully—reclaiming of land, soil improvements, work on the farms to increase food supply, forestry projects, land settlement and assistance in natural calamities. As a result of these projects, it was reported that "Three lakhs of acres were secured against floods, 60,000 acres were made arable, 750,000 acres were drained and 400,000 acres made more accessible by constructing large or small roads". This reaffirms the experience of other countries that it is within the competence of youth—even under unfavourable psychological conditions—to complete such large projects within a period of about three years. But there were other projects which were not so designed as to be socially useful. They were meant only for the purpose of hardening the muscles and breaking the will, e.g., digging pits and filling them up, or removing hilly meadows from the landscape! They provide an ideal example of the kind of projects that should not be planned. But the price paid was very high, indeed. The youth were drilled into unquestioning obedience to the petty fuhrers and there was a deliberate 'regimentation and subordination to the collective will' with little room for initiative or imagination. Consistently with the general Nazi ideology, there was a 'glorification of the physical against the intellectual'. An aggressive psychology was carefully nurtured and the youths were prepared for war through blatant racial propaganda.

As a consequence of this kind of experience, both in West Germany and several other countries which had come under Hitler, there is a rooted dislike and opposition to the idea of any compulsion for labour or social service. All those with whom I had discussions in West Germany held that any general compulsion was out of the question. It was a case, as someone put it, of "a burnt child dreading the fire". They had bitter memories of the time when people—including women—could be forcibly

drafted to work in munition factories. But, in a state of emergency, it was permissible under the law to call all youths above 18 to work for the community and they thought that, even on a voluntary basis, it would be possible to get a sufficient number of workers for the purpose. The general opinion, however, which is rather emphatically expressed is that the State should interfere as little as possible in the private life of citizens and the same attitude is adopted towards the youth movements in the country.

The German youth are mostly interested in completing their studies as quickly as possible and starting to earn their living. This perhaps accounts, to some extent, for the fact that, unlike our students, they have no strong interest in politics and hardly create any problems of discipline. On the contrary, they are so disciplined that, as one educationist lightly remarked, he wished they were less disciplined! They are generally treated as mature and responsible adults at the age of 19 or 20, who can look after themselves. There is no idea of imposing any kind of school discipline on them and they are, on the whole, free from official or adult interference in their life and activities. There is a feeling that, in a country like Germany where there is full employment and well-organised social services, there is not much room for honorary social work by youth. The objective situation, it was stated, does not favour it. It is a rich country and there is not much work to be done in 'building up' the country as happens in times of emergency. So the youth are neither interested in it nor can they find much attraction or significant work to do. So there is no strong national movement in favour of social service. The only thing I could discover was that there are some tentative proposals for introducing some form of social service for girls—on a voluntary basis in the first instance—for a period of about six months to a year. This is based on the consideration, which was urged in the Scandinavian countries also, that such service could be reasonably expected from girls as an alternative to military service put in by young men. This may also help to make good to some extent the shortage of staff for essential social services in hospitals, sanatoria, etc. The churches are reported to have made a beginning already and the hope was expressed that youth and women's organisations may also take it up. The general view, however, seems to be that the objectives that we have in view in our scheme and which are important should be achieved through a reconstructed system of education and the influence of youth organisations.

These youth organisations (Appendix III), at various levels, from the local to the federal, play an important part in the social and political adjustment of youth and preparing them for the newly emerging conditions. There is a federal Youth Council with which 14 different youth organisations, with a total membership of about five million, are affiliated. They promote mutual exchange of ideas amongst them, formulate programmes of civic and political education for youth, advise on youth legislation and encourage international contacts. There is also a 'Working Association for Youth Uplift' which develops and coordinates social work by youth. This grew as a result of the situation created by the war when the country found on its hands the problem of numerous children and youth who had lost not only their parents but their roots in life. They had to be socially reintegrated and some purposeful work had to be found for them. At a time when there was so little open employment! They needed houses near the industrial centres where they could find some work. There were many skilled workers, too, who were not, however, able to cope

with the challenge of the new industrial conditions. It was necessary to help them in their intended work. The Association undertook to do so and arranged to provide a transitional year between the Elementary school and work. During this period, sometime for more than a year, pre-vocational training was provided for them to enable them to adjust to existing industrial needs. In this way attempts were made to link up education with vocational life and utilise the aptitude of the young workers more efficiently. Some attempt to import work experiences into education is also made through the practical emphasis in school education and an efficient system of apprenticeship is provided for engineers and medical men under training.

It is significant, however, that in Germany as well as in the Scandinavian countries, which are in a state of comparative affluence and where the problem of unemployment has, for the present, been solved, the delinquency curve is higher than it was when they were poorer and passing through difficult times. This was explained by some thoughtful educationists and psychologists as "luxury delinquency", due to the fact that many youth are coming into easy money and they often do not know what to do with it. They have not passed through the educative experience of hard work in the service of the community and, therefore, their social conscience is not adequately quickened. In the words of a distinguished Danish educationist, Rosenkjoer, "We have given the youth enough to live by but not enough to live for"—a fine statement with which I fully agree. It was, on the basis of some such feeling, that I had earlier argued with many educationists and others that, whether a country was rich or poor, it was imperative to build the spirit of social service into the minds and motions of all youth and, if necessary, to create situations in which they will be able to express and consolidate it.

D. The Scandinavian Countries

In Denmark, Norway and Sweden, like other European countries, there is no movement at present for the introduction of any compulsory labour service for educational purposes such as we are contemplating in our country. It would be useful to analyse briefly the situation that exists there and the reaction of their educationists and social thinkers to it, in so far as it has relevance to our problems.

The Scandinavian countries present an interesting picture socially and economically. They have small populations—varying between 3.5 and 4.5 millions—with comparatively large areas, considerable natural resources of one kind or another, a prosperous economy based on progressive agriculture and technology and highly developed social services. They were predominantly rural and somewhat backward countries till about the end of the 18th century (or the middle of the 19th century). In their reconstruction, education has since played a conscious and dominant role. Thus, till 1760, Denmark was poor in agriculture; there was fragmentation of land holdings; the condition of landless labour was very unsatisfactory and forced labour was exacted from them. The Danish Government brought about land reforms, took various measures to improve agriculture and, as early as 1804, introduced compulsory Elementary education for seven years. Thanks to the vision of some far-sighted educationists, a good system of adult education was built up, with its celebrated Folk Schools which owe their origin to Denmark's great and well-loved educationist, Grundtvig. These were started about 80 years ago and have now become

a special and internationally recognised feature of the Scandinavian educational system. They provide a meeting ground between the common man and the educated classes and make it possible for the youths and adults to continue their general and cultural education and develop their character, personality and interests. This two-pronged educational attack on ignorance and illiteracy at the level of children and adults has had a far-reaching influence on the agricultural as well as technical and cultural progress of these countries. With improved facilities for education, national economy has become more balanced and, instead of being predominantly agricultural, the industrial and agricultural population has attained near-parity, with a slight weightage in favour of the latter. There is a keen appreciation of the relationship between school and community life and this idea permeates every stage of education. The Folk Schools, for instance, were designed not for the intelligentsia but mainly for the rural population and, because of their original inspiration and the spirit in which they worked, they have evoked an enthusiastic response from the countryside. As the farmers obtained a greater measure of freedom and social justice, they began to exercise greater political influence and learnt to appreciate the fact that, without education, they will not be able to utilise their new opportunities effectively. This accounts for the appeal of these schools to the common people and quite a large number of ministers and members of the Parliament are reported to have been drawn from their alumni. Most of them are situated in beautiful countryside and some have fine buildings and equipment and the other facilities needed for developing a satisfying community life. They provide a variety of courses,—week-end, weekly, terminal and six-monthly—catering to different interests and needs of men and women. Their methods of study do not reproduce the stereotyped methods in schools but new and more flexible techniques and approaches have been developed over the years. The recruitment of staff is not hedged by too many rules and regulations laying down precise qualifications and conditions of training. The stress is on the selection of teachers who are personally suitable for this kind of work and have the capacity to learn from experience. The number of such schools is not large,—varies from 60 to 100 in the three countries,—but their impact on national life is considerable because they attempt to bridge the gulf between education and community life and provide enriching experience for those who are not able to proceed to higher education.

Another attractive idea has been worked out in Norway with this object in view—the establishment of what are known as *Samfunnhus*—('Society Houses') or 'Community Centres'. The school is envisaged as a focal point for different kinds of social, cultural and educational activities for the community. In some instances, separate buildings have been provided for the purpose and, in others, they are planned as combination 'school-community' centres, using the same plant facilities for children and adults in the day time and the evenings. I saw a few such centres actually in operation as well as the prototype model of a combination school-community centre meant for a small rural population of about 1,800, located in a hilly area. Apart from such facilities as library, committee rooms, hall, gymnasium, swimming pool, cafeteria etc., health units and offices for local organisations and concerns are also provided in the compact plan. The teachers training colleges specially stress the idea of using the school as a multipurpose centre for community activities.

I was greatly impressed with the fine new school buildings which have been constructed in recent years and which provide first rate equipment and furniture and other necessary facilities for studies, games, sports and for medical and dental care. A considerable proportion of national and local funds—about 30 per cent—is devoted to education and ancillary services and nothing in reason is considered too good for the proper education of children.

The object of the preceding discussion is not to give an idea of the general educational system or of the Folk High Schools about which many excellent publications are available. But it points to certain conclusions and suggestions which are of value to us. In the first place, it highlights the importance of education in the building up of the national economy and the value of establishing close relationship between the school and the general life of the community such as the Folk Schools seek to develop. It shows that it is possible to draw people voluntarily to any type of education—or any kind of educational experience—which is of good quality and is planned to meet their genuine needs and aspirations. If the National Service Scheme is devised with care so that it responds to the natural urges and psychology of youth—mindful of their strength as well as limitations—it should be possible to evoke satisfactory response from them on a voluntary basis. Also it demonstrates the possibility of educationists adjusting their methods of teaching and the contents of instruction to the needs of the situation in which they work. The adoption of a flexible approach in teaching and in the recruitment of staff is not, therefore, beset by any insuperable dangers but may, on the other hand, heighten the quality of education.

In these countries there is, as a rule, no reluctance on the part of students to taking up any kind of manual work and many of them actually take on various jobs during the vacation to supplement their income and carry on their studies. The motive in such cases is obviously not social service, and the inculcation of faith in 'the dignity of labour' is not a pressing national problem. These countries are, on the whole, well developed; there is practically full employment—except in some very backward hilly regions—and suitable projects of productive work for youth are reported to be hard to find. The trade unions sometimes object even to students' participation in harvesting operations, and road building does not offer much chance of voluntary work by youth because it is reported to be highly mechanised. (The Yugoslav experience, however, does not confirm this view.) Even in the rather small number of camps—usually held under the auspices of I.V.S.P.—the element of productive work is not prominent. The stress is on social and international contacts and the promotion of mutual understanding amongst the participants. In some of the camps which I visited, small but significant projects had been taken up with the idea of serving needy groups or institutions, *e.g.*, making a play-ground in an institution of mentally defective children which involved cutting of trees, levelling of ground, digging of water channels etc. I was told that just after the war, when conditions were more difficult, members of trade unions and the Social Democratic Party—not the students as such—had undertaken some projects to build houses for poor people and plant parks and recreation centres, but these possibilities are now reported to be very limited.

Another factor, which is of special importance in our situation, does not apply here with any force—the mixing together of various groups and classes. As social democracy has been attained in good measure, the social and economic differences between the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated, are not very marked and there is a high degree of democratic mobility. Through a fairly elaborate set-up of youth organisations, an effort has been made to achieve some of the objectives which we have in view in our own scheme. They plan various kinds of educational and cultural activities for children and youth outside the schools and, in some cases, these form part of the general adult education set-up. The Workers Educational Association of Sweden, for instance, is a very active body which brings together many voluntary organisations functioning in this field, *e.g.*, the Youth League, the cooperative movement and the trade union organisation with its several hundred branches. The recently established “Young Falcon’s Organisation” looks after children between the ages of six and sixteen. It is run by trained youth leaders who are given short training courses in how to conduct evening classes and discussion groups and how to organise leisure-time activities. For this purpose, children generally meet twice a week either in school buildings or in other conveniently available locations. Under a recent municipal law, space has to be provided in the basement of every large, new apartment house for a centre to promote children’s leisure-time activities. The Central organisation also prepares materials for the use of voluntary agencies in their work, *e.g.*, models, charts, pamphlets etc. which help them in the study of their neighbourhood or town or village and its social and economic activities. In order to meet the special needs of adolescents and young adult citizens between the ages of 18 and 25, a publication entitled ‘YOUNG TODAY’ is brought out which publishes interesting and significant material about such themes as the life and occupations of youth, juvenile delinquency and drink, and problems of international understanding. It also advises trained youth leaders on how to conduct surveys about the needs and problems of youth. There are special discussion groups and projects relating to social welfare problems, the needs of the handicapped, sports and scouting, music, art, films and filmstrips etc. The object of these voluntary group activities is to make the youth more sensitive to social issues and create in them the desire and the ability to seek for their solution. Work, similar in nature but at a more advanced level, is done for adults by the Workers Educational Association. In this way, the interests of children, adolescents and adults are catered for through these various agencies of ‘continuation’ education.

To some extent, the period of military service which has been in force in Sweden since 1901—is also used for educational purposes. The conscripts are given some general education in languages and civic and community problems and technical training in subjects like motor mechanism, metal work etc. on a voluntary basis. They are also liable to be called up, in times of emergency, for such purposes as putting out forest fires, rescuing children and other lost persons, nursing the injured etc. Conscientious objectors, who are exempt from military service, are given alternative civilian duties like work in forests or archaeological excavations or in fire brigades. Thus it will be observed that, while there is no compulsory labour service in Scandinavia, a large proportion of youth do get some experience—in many cases on a limited scale—of manual work and social service and some of the aims in view—not all—are attained in an indirect way through such experiences.

On account of the factors already mentioned in connection with some other European countries, in particular the association of compulsion with Hitler's regime, there is general opposition to compulsion as applied to social service and fairly general agreement that such work should be done on a voluntary basis through non-official agencies and not directly by the State which should only coordinate it and give financial aid. A large number of voluntary agencies have grown up in the last few decades—co-operatives, trade unions, youths and women's organisations—through whom social interest is generally mobilised in addition to older organisations like Scouting, Red Cross, Y.M.C.A. Local bodies like the municipalities have their own youth wings to look after activities which are not being adequately covered by other existing agencies.

I did not, however, gather the impression that there was a sufficient sense of urgency about social work being done by youth. "We are a welfare State and the State should look after people's needs increasingly. Why should it be necessary to draw the youth into this kind of work in large numbers?" This seemed to be the general reaction on the part of a majority of persons. They were not, however, in favour of compulsion; they preferred a voluntary approach, a restricted use of the military personnel for staffing the scheme and greater room for free discipline and self-government which military discipline is apt to curb.

There was one question in regard to these countries which occupied my thoughts a good deal. They have achieved, as I have already mentioned, a good measure of material prosperity. Their farmers are well-to-do; the cooperative movement has made considerable headway; the social services have been well developed; there are adequate old-age pensions; health conditions have greatly improved and the average longevity has come to about 70 years. They have established a more equalitarian society than most other countries in the world, the range of differences in income being as small as 1 to 3. The tempo of life is, comparatively speaking, slower and more leisurely than in other European countries or America. And yet there is a feeling that, though materially speaking, the stage is set for a happy life—with social services and a good standard of living—people are not really happy. There is a certain feeling of depression of something missing in life. I was told that the suicide rate is higher, the rate of drink, delinquency and divorces has increased and there is less attention to religion. Their sensitive thinkers and educationists are exercised about this perplexing situation and I had an opportunity to discuss the matter with some of them. The question at the back of my mind was: Is there something seriously lacking in the general educational and social set-up which should be set right not only in these countries but also in our country and region?

I would like in this connection to refer to the gist of a discussion that I had with a well-known Danish educationist, Rosenkjoer, who is now about 80 years of age but remains deeply sensitive to the question of values. He pointed out that in most modern countries there was a certain unhealthy drift away from manual work and from contact with Nature and rural life and interests. The modern youth is mainly interested in his vocational future and success in the material sense, and is not powerfully drawn to social service. There is much greater emphasis on the commercial and the comparatively superficial aspects of life than was ever the case before. The result is that, though the material needs of the people have been

largely satisfied, life still lacks a social purpose, a framework of meaning and, therefore, fails to give true happiness. The great technical progress that has taken place in recent decades has not led to any marked improvement in social relations but has accentuated competition and rivalry. Even the Welfare State has not fulfilled all the expectations that had been entertained and there is an increase in crime, juvenile delinquency, divorces and suicide which is a source of anxiety. The new generation has the material resources to build the "good life" but not the ideals, the vision, the social purpose, the sense of meaning which would give the right direction to their thoughts and actions. They lack the requisite spiritual strength to make a good job of their life. This is a situation not peculiar to this region but applicable in varying degrees to the modern world as a whole. He agreed with my view that part of what was lacking was the opportunity and the desire for social service, an identification of oneself with those in need or distress or with causes greater than one's own petty self. *And this needed to be strengthened.* To repeat his arresting phrase, already quoted: "We have given the youth enough to live by but not enough to live for". It is only by the strengthening of loyalty to worthy and significant purposes that mankind can be salvaged from the social and moral morass in which it has fallen. This applies as much to the East as to the West and the basic justification for the National Service Scheme, if it is rightly conducted, is that it might make a modest contribution to this end.

The Scandinavian educationists showed great interest in our scheme and when they understood the background facts of our situation, they readily appreciated its *raison d'être*. But they were of the opinion that no compulsory movement of social service will have any chance of success in their countries and that India, too, would do well to start on a voluntary basis with pilot projects and to expand them gradually. They advocated restricted use of the military personnel for staffing the Scheme and favoured free discipline and self-government in camps rather than any kind of rigid military discipline. There was sincere appreciation, on the part of many of them, of the ethical and spiritual traditions of India which, it was stressed, we should try to preserve and strengthen and reflect in our Scheme of National Service, because, through such an approach, we might discover the missing key to the paradox of modern maladjustment. What struck the outsiders as of special value in our scheme was its sensitiveness to many of the intangible moral and ethical values which can be woven into it and which we should not lose sight of under any circumstances—neither in the interest of hurried expansion nor of quick results. So here as elsewhere, we eventually come back to this emphasis on the quality of experience which is to be regarded as a consideration of the highest priority.

E. The United Kingdom

There was a great deal of interest in the educational circles and youth service organisations of the United Kingdom in our National Service Scheme and the various problems related to it were keenly debated. While there is no experience in the U. K. of large scale work camps, either on a compulsory or voluntary basis, the objectives that we have in view have been engaging the serious attention of British educationists and social workers. With the characteristic British genius for individual initiative, experiments have been made by individuals and voluntary organisations to work out different ways of adjusting the school to community life and making the youth respond to the needs of the modern age.

The only form of compulsory service in the country till recently has been military conscription which it has now been decided to discontinue. In the course of the next year or two, this will be entirely wound up. There is no proposal at present to replace it by a scheme of youth service in the field of constructive work. There is, however, a definite feeling in some circles that the experience of community living in military camps, under disciplined conditions, was useful and bracing and its termination will leave a lacuna which needs to be suitably filled up. As a well-known youth worker of Great Britain put it, "Many of us in Britain are deeply concerned at the implications of the ending of National Service in the armed forces. Strategic, financial and political considerations have led to the termination of conscription—but more and more university authorities, industrial leaders and those concerned with youth work are beginning to realise that it has been fundamentally healthy that our young people should have had to undergo some form of service for the nation; that their studies at college and their work in factories have gained through the greater maturity they have required through disciplined service; and that a sense of common citizenship has been promoted through this sharing of experience by young people from all classes." This is being attempted partly through the comprehensive youth services which are being gradually built up in cooperation with the various voluntary organizations, with financial assistance from Government and the local bodies. The 'service of youth' is the official title given to the "efforts made by statutory authorities and voluntary organisations to provide young people with opportunities for informal education, social intercourse and the creative use of leisure through membership of a group". Through various group activities and organised youth clubs, the idea is to provide opportunities for the youth both for 'close association with the adult community' and for 'withdrawal from it into a group of his own', where he can explore and cultivate his interests. The great value of such an experience is that he learns to function as the member of a community in which he can establish genuine personal relationships, discover his capacities and inclinations and enjoy the satisfaction that comes from making a personal contribution to a group of his own fellows and contemporaries.

The approach adopted in the country is, however, one of persuasion—a voluntary approach—and reliance is largely placed on the educative impact of leisure-time activities. There is no compulsion. In fact, it was stated by many witnesses that conscription for any purpose which is not connected with defence is likely to be resented. The experience, which youth workers had during the war, convinced them that young people respond enthusiastically whenever there is the stimulus of a common social purpose with which they can identify themselves. As the Albermarle Report on Youth Service puts it, there is a strong need for the adolescents 'to find something they can do individually or in a chosen group which they feel is deeply worthwhile, beyond pleasure or personal reward'. It is recommended that the young people of different aptitudes and classes should have 'opportunities to display and to respect forms of pre-eminence in fields other than academic'. If this is done both through the educational and the recreational approach and through participation in suitable forms of social service, it will have a tremendous impact on their character and personality.

There was general agreement that an essential condition for the success of the youth organisations is the high quality of leadership. "In the long

run the youth service will stand or fall not by the magnificence of the premises provided by church or local education authority or by the generosity of the Ministry of Education but by the degree to which men and women of ability and goodwill are prepared to give themselves in friendship to young people". Not only is the choice of the right kind of youth leaders important but their proper training also, for which special provision has been made in the youth service programme of the Ministry of Education. In fact the very first step taken in connection with this programme is the setting up of the national college for the training of youth leaders at Leicester.

Amongst the different types of youth services, youth work camps can play an important part and, if they are properly integrated with them, they can provide valuable social, civic and moral education. The size and duration of these camps conducted by different agencies in the U.K. differ considerably. The opportunities for large scale projects being limited, many small projects are being carried on through camps organised by various bodies. But there is one common factor amongst them—they all attempt to provide worthwhile projects of work which will open out fine opportunities for cooperation and better understanding and give the youth a sense of participation in some significant social purpose. Sometimes they may be small local projects for meeting some urgent need of the neighbouring community. Or they may be arduous and challenging tasks like rescuing refugees in a difficult international situation: "Working on the Austro-Hungarian frontier in the winter of 1956-57, I saw the impact that refugee relief had upon students from universities of the West. Labouring at night in the snow to rescue frightened and exhausted refugees, these students felt—for the first time in their somewhat sheltered lives—that *they were really needed and that they had something to give*"¹. The phrase that I have underlined brings out the psychological motivation which often makes heroes of ordinary men and women. 'Our young people', as Lewis Mumford has put it tersely, 'are starving for lack of real tasks and vital opportunities. Many of them live like sleep walkers, apparently in contact with their environment but actually dead to everything but the print of newspapers and the blare of radio.' In India, as in other countries, there is need to awaken them to the challenging realities of their situation and to make them feel that they can *do* something to improve this situation.

There are several voluntary organizations in the U.K.—large and small—concerned with the running of work camps for different purposes or promoting other activities with somewhat similar objects. Amongst them are the I.V.S.P. (an international voluntary organisation established by the Quakers for conducting service camps (cf. Appendix VIIA) with an active branch in the U.K.), the Civic Trust (which, amongst other useful civic activities, utilises the services of youth for removal of "eye sores" and derelict buildings in the country and for reclamation of agricultural land) and the newly started Council for Nature (which directs the activities of the Conservation Corps for 'the maintenance and scientific management of nature reserves and other biologically important sites', involving work like scrub clearance, putting up fences, bunding, cleaning ponds etc.)². The common experience of all these organisations is that the response of youth

¹Alic Dickson in his letter to Dr. C.D. Deshmukh.

²Appendices give brief accounts of the activities of these organisations.

is good if the purpose appeals to them as worthwhile—if, for example, it really contributes to landscape improvement and beautification, or helps in the conservation of natural resources, or is perceptibly useful to the needy and the handicapped.

Somewhat different in form but with objectives which are not dissimilar is the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme which was started in 1956 because of the growing concern with problems of delinquency, of teddy boys and other forms of social maladjustment. The idea is to encourage the youth to take up certain kinds of activities requiring courage, physical endurance and spirit of adventure, which would provide a healthy outlet for their energies, and to award them badges and certificates if they achieve certain prescribed standards. The following types of activities are included in the scheme :

- (a) Rescue and public service (life saving, fire service, civil defence, etc.);
- (b) Expeditions and excursions which will encourage the spirit of 'living dangerously'—hiking expeditions of a certain distance and duration, riding, swimming, canoeing, etc.;
- (c) Hobbies comprising about 100 different projects and pursuits, both practical and academic;
- (d) Passing physical fitness tests of different standards.

In addition to passing certain essential minimum tests or completion of projects to qualify for the awards, service to other individuals or social groups is a condition for winning the higher awards, *e.g.*, service in churches or hospitals or the S.P.C.A. or other social organisations. This scheme does not involve any camping as such and the element of social service is comparatively small. But it promotes physical fitness and encourages the spirit of adventure and enterprise and the cultivation of hobbies and interests. A scheme with such objectives can indirectly prepare the youth for participation in national service with greater interest and competence. It is interesting to note that there is no sense of rivalry between this scheme and other organisations concerned with physical education etc. like Scouting or N.C.C., because the latter are utilised as the agencies through which training facilities in these fields of accomplishment can be provided.

There is a standing Conference of National Voluntary Youth Organisations which coordinates the work, policies and programmes of different agencies,—like scouting, youth clubs and church organisations—serves as a clearing house for ideas and information and offers its authoritative advice on youth problems and legislation.

My discussions with British educationists and youth workers showed that the balance of opinion in the country was in favour of a voluntary approach in our experiment, though there were some persons who thought that it might become necessary to enforce compulsion in due course. Even they, however, were of the opinion that a beginning should be made on a voluntary basis with selected pilot projects, and we should expand on the basis of tested experience and trained leadership as it becomes increasingly available.

1F. The United States of America

The Civilian Conservation Corps (C.C.C.) Scheme, which was worked out in the United States in 1930's, provides a very impressive and spectacular demonstration of what can be done by utilising the service of youth in construction projects. The initial motivation of this scheme was economic. It was launched as an emergency measure during the depression years to meet the menace of large scale unemployment which threatened not only the economic life of the country but also the morale of a large section of the population. But it also had important educational and psychological implications which made its study relevant to our own scheme of National Youth Service. Such a study can throw a great deal of useful light not only on the problems of organisation but also its general approach and orientation.

It is not necessary to give a detailed history of the movement, as a number of reports and publications were brought out during and after the operation of the scheme giving accounts of its achievements as well as an assessment of its strong and weak points. It will be sufficient to give a brief idea of the aims and the scope of the scheme and then discuss its deeper educational implications which are of significance for us. I utilised my visit to the United States to discuss the scheme with a very large number of educationists and administrators who, in some way or other, were connected with it—from the top-level directors of policy and organisation to camp superintendents who were actually in the thick of its practical implications and some of the participants who passed through the experience and training of the camps. This was made possible by the courtesy of my programme organisers as well as by the help given by many interested individuals and organisations in establishing fruitful contacts. My conclusions and assessment are thus based not merely on a study of important available materials but also on discussions with a wide cross-section of the concerned persons and organisations.

In 1929, the United States was struck by the most serious depression in its history. It shook the foundations of the national economy as well as national confidence in the idea that it was launched on an irresistible fool-proof march towards ever increasing prosperity. The situation affected the youth very seriously who had neither jobs nor possibilities of further schooling. The challenge of the expanding frontier had practically disappeared and there were no open work opportunities for many who were willing and capable of doing useful work. In 1933, millions of adults were reported to be out of work,—according to the National Youth Administration Report, 15 million or about one-third of the total labour force—and consequently there was little chance of employment for youth recently out of school. The number of unemployed youth between the ages of 16 and 24 was estimated at about five million. Their life was one of 'misery, rootlessness, wandering over the country (as tramps and 'hoboes') and living on dole'. Thus unemployment, lack of security and a haunting sense of failure to make any worthwhile social contribution led to an increasing feeling of frustration, demoralisation and lack of self-respect. Till that time, there was perhaps no clear recognition of the fact that unemployment was a social and economic problem of great urgency which should be regarded as a *national* concern and not 'as a well-deserved punishment for individual shortcomings' or a fall from grace to which, at best, charitable organisations or local bodies could attend.

The C.C.C. was one of several schemes initiated by the Roosevelt Administration to combat the great depression and its dangers. Its object was to provide work for unemployed young men mainly in the conservation and restoration of natural resources all over the country through the organisation of big national projects of salvage and reconstruction. In his message to the Congress on the 21st of March, 1933, President Roosevelt stated its purpose in these words :

"I propose to create a Civilian Conservation Corps to be used in simple work, not interfering with normal employment and confining itself to forestry, the prevention of soil erosion, flood control and similar projects. I call your attention to the fact that this type of work is of definite, practical value not only through the *prevention* of great present financial loss but also as a means of *creating* future national wealth".

The basic law under which the Corps operated laid down that the CCC "is established for the purpose of providing employment as well as vocational training for youthful citizens of the United States who are unemployed and in need of employment. . . . through the performance of useful work in connection with the conservation and development of the natural resources of the country". The organisation was built up in a hurry in view of the emergent situation to be met and its broader social and educational implications were only slowly and—according to many discerning critics inadequately—realised. "Living together and working together were adequately prepared for, but not thinking together". Later, however, there was a somewhat fuller recognition of this aspect. Thus the Youth Commission of the American Council on Education recognised that the dual purpose of the project was to conserve natural resources and to provide useful training for youth, leading to the improvement of their health, discipline, social habits, skills, efficiency in work and to an appreciation of the right values and the obligations of community membership. President Roosevelt himself expressed the view at a later stage that the moral and spiritual value of such work will be more important than the material gain. My own appraisal, however, is that this recognition was largely confined to educationists associated with the scheme and did not become a priority objective in actual practice¹. Part of the reason for this may be that the supreme direction of the scheme was vested in a labour leader, who had no special educational vision and the actual organisation was in the hands of the army which could not very well be expected to appreciate and implement the deeper educational purposes.

The magnitude of the enterprise can be estimated from the fact that between 1933 and 1940 more than two and a half million youth were enrolled in 1360 work camps. In 1940 the number of salaried employees, who looked after various camp duties and functions, was over 35,000 of

1. As an instance of how lucid was this realisation on the part of some educationists, I give below an extract from "Youth in the CCC" by Kenneth Holland and Frank Ernest Hill, summarising the ends of the educational training which the camps should provide :

"To build better health and health habits, to show the individual how to live cooperatively with others, to instruct him in the value and importance of carrying out orders, to improve his conduct and moral outlook, to develop his understanding of work and his capacity to work, to teach him work skills, and to cultivate in him an understanding of and a capacity to participate in the responsibilities of citizenship—these are the ends to be sought in training. They have become clear after long experience and experimentation, and are likely to endure."

whom about 15,000 were from the War Department, over 12,000 from the Agriculture and Forest Departments and about 1,500 formed the educational personnel. In view of the resources and the organisational experience of the army, it was given over-all charge of the camps. It looked after the housing,—usually in barracks or tents,—feeding, clothing, provision of tools and equipment like bulldozers as well as general discipline and even supervised the educational programmes. One educational adviser was appointed to look after two camps and he had the responsibility to set up appropriate educational programmes and enlist teachers. He was usually assisted by a deputy selected from amongst the enrollees on the basis of his qualifications and suitability. The actual projects and camp sites—central and ancillary—were selected and planned by various concerned Government Departments like Agriculture, Forestry and the Interior. The work in forests, for instance, was directed by the U.S. Forest Service. The superintendents of the camp, who had the necessary technical skill in the type of work to be done, organised and controlled the project. Mr. Robert Fechner, a well-known labour leader, was appointed the director of the entire project in the hope that he would be able to mollify the opposition of the trade unions and, in each State, there was a director responsible for the selection of the men to be enlisted in the camps. There were certain definite conditions which the enrollees had to fulfil—they must be between the ages of 17 and 28; they must be unemployed and in need of work; they must be of good character and in satisfactory physical condition; they should be prepared to allot a substantial portion of their wages to their dependents and to work anywhere for a period of at least six months.

The scheme was under operation for about nine years from 1933 to 1942 and, in order to estimate its achievements, both practical and educational during this period, the following figures which are taken from official reports and from Dr. Kenneth Holland's book "Youth in the CCC" will be of interest. Like the figures of the Yugoslav youth work drives, they prove quite conclusively that it is possible for youth to undertake big projects successfully, provided the necessary conditions conducive to good work can be maintained.

(a) *Variety of Projects*

The work projects included landscaping, dam construction, fire control and prevention, silviculture, pest control, control of tree disease, construction of highways and trails, parks and picnic areas development, stream and lake improvement, watershed restoration and anti-erosion measures.

(b) *Types of Technical Training*

Agriculture, tree surgery, auto-mechanics, blacksmithy, carpentry, concrete construction, electric work, stone masonry, surveying, telephone work, tool making and tool care, tractor operation, truck maintenance and repairs. (Many of these technical skills were learnt in the course of working on the various projects in which youths in different camps were employed).

(c) *Financial Implications*

During the five-year period, 1932—37 the following constituted the costs on various heads :—

- (i) Payment to the enrollees 500 million dollars (of which 80 per cent was remitted to the enrollees' families) (about 2 million in number) :

- (ii) Cost of feeding the enrollees: 200 million dollars
- (iii) Cost of clothing and shoes etc.: 200 million dollars
- (iv) Medical material and supplies: 30 million dollars
- (v) Cost of tents, barracks and other types of shelter: 68 million dollars
- (vi) Cost of equipment, materials and supplies: 30 million dollars

The above is exclusive of the cost of items like transportation, staff salaries, light, gas and telephone service.

The total cost in the first five years was estimated at about 1,500 million dollars.

(d) *Monthly Enrolment*

The average monthly enrolment between July and December 1936 was about 3,25,000 youth and the average number of instructors of all kinds, about 28,000.

(e) *Educational Programme*

In the first four years about 12 million dollars were spent on education and about 90 per cent of the youth participated on a voluntary basis in one or more of the educational programmes. Of these, 22 per cent enrolled for informal educational activities in the fields of arts, crafts, music and drama, 66 per cent in first aid, health and safety instruction courses, 48 per cent in job training courses, and 40 per cent in regular vocational training courses. About 5,000 enrollees attended neighbouring schools and 30,000 took different kinds of correspondence courses which were usually developed by the universities for their special needs. 10,600 lectures were organised, 6,900 films were shown, and about 300,000 books distributed amongst them.

(f) *Achievements*

The concrete achievements of the CCC (in figures) may be summed up as follows:

- (i) About one million trees were planted on each working day since the beginning of the project on the 5th of April, 1933, and, by the end of 1936, 1.3 billion trees were reported to have been planted, thus reforesting about one million acres of land. (By the end of the project, this number was reported to have risen to 2.25 billions!)
- (ii) The campers gave 3,800,000 'man-days' to fighting forest fires, and conducting anti-insects and anti-pest campaigns over an area of 15 million acres.
- (iii) They built 87,000 miles of truck roads, minor roads, park roads and highways.
- (iv) They laid 45,000 miles of telegraph lines.
- (v) They constructed 3,000 "fire look-outs" and observation towers.
- (vi) They planted 700,000 additional acres of parks.

- (vii) In addition, they performed occasional emergency duties like searching lost children, flood rescue work, fighting forest fires, rescuing wild life from starvation and supplying aid to isolated families in snow-bound areas or dust storms.

Amongst the 'smaller items', listed by Kenneth Holland in his book are : construction of 'a very large number of small dams', 907 reservoirs, and 3,666 public buildings like urinals, cabin shelters, lodges, museums, etc.

The preceding paragraphs show that work of great magnitude was undoubtedly accomplished by the CCC. But what is more important from our point of view is to examine the impact it had on the youth who participated in it. One obvious effect of the movement was to salvage the large number of youth from the state of frustration into which they had fallen as a result of the depression. They learnt to put their hands to constructive and useful labour whose social value they could appreciate; they received, in addition to food and lodging, a modest salary which helped their families and gave them back their self-respect. Instead of living on State dole or private charity in a state of idleness, they learnt to live a more or less a disciplined community life and acquired orderly habits of work. According to Dr. A. E. Morgan of Antioch, "for half a century or more there had existed in the United States, even in prosperous times, a class of men called tramps or 'hoboes'. These men roamed about the country, stealing rides on goods trains, sleeping in empty rail-road cars or under bridges or in nude camps they improvised. They secured their food by begging or by offering to do menial work at homes where they asked for help. There were estimated to be half a million of these tramps in the country. They seldom performed criminal acts but were wasting their lives and were a burden and a nuisance. This class almost entirely disappeared—partly on account of the organisation of the CCC camps" and partly because the urgent need of war recruitment liquidated the unemployment situation. In July 1943, only 1.2 million persons were reported to be unemployed.

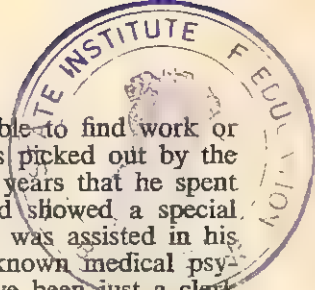
In my discussions with various persons who had fairly good acquaintance with the development of the CCC activities, I found that almost all were agreed that it was a useful experience for the youth, though their assessment varied in enthusiasm. Some of the superintendents etc. who actually served in the camps, were most favourable in their comments. Thanks to the arrangements made, I was able to contact several such persons who were good enough to share with me their impressions and reminiscences of a quarter century back. One of them, who was in charge of a forest camp for several years, stated that a large majority of youth responded very well to the scheme and found their experience satisfying. "Only about 10 per cent of the participants may have been weeded out" in that camp because they proved incapable or unwilling to do the work. The youths, on the whole, showed no reluctance to wielding the saw and the hammer for the first time in their life and many would have liked to stay on longer in the camp. They were assigned different types of work according to the nature of the camp and participated in the building of their own huts and providing other needed facilities for the use of the campers. As a result of the disciplined life that they led—under military supervision, though without military training—many of them acquired a special stamp and, according to this witness, in the Second World War "many CCC men could be easily distinguished and picked out by their general behaviour and bearing in the army". This impression was confirmed by some other witnesses who stated that many of the participants

became, in later life, citizens of ability and reputation who were able to establish good relationship with their communities.

Another witness, also a superintendent, stated that, during his whole experience, he did not have the feeling of "driving a reluctant group". The youth, on the whole, enjoyed the work that they did, which covered five days in the week. Some attention was paid to the special interests and aptitudes of the campers when assigning them to different kinds of camps, *e.g.*, forest camps, park service camps, anti-erosion camps, and giving them work assignments, including service in the camp itself. They were also trained to operate heavy machinery which they found useful in later life. A limited number of skilled workers from outside were employed and some L.E.M.'s (Local Experienced Men) were also taken in the camps at a later stage in order to establish better relationship with the local community. The participants acquired a good deal of practical skill and knowledge in the course of performing their varied assignments. In the forest camps, for instance, there were a variety of projects to be undertaken, *e.g.*, thinning of dense timber trees, building fire look-out stations and fire lanes and tanks to hold water, laying out parks, planting of grass and trees, construction of roads and trails into villages, erosion control etc. All this required expert planning and guidance by forest officers, engineers and rangers and, wherever the youth were associated with the process, they received valuable training in the techniques of these operations.

I visited the actual site of one of the CCC camps near Antioch where, about 20 years earlier, the youths had undertaken projects to provide recreation facilities for the public in a part of the dense, over-grown local forest. Many traces of their work were still intact and visible. They had cleared part of the forest, constructed roads and trails, made a swimming pool and built open-air fire places for cooking, sheds for refuge in rainy weather and playgrounds for children. Many of the temporary sheds and buildings which they had constructed for their own use still stood but they looked melancholy and derelict and some had been pulled down. On the whole, I had the impression that it was a good job of work which was of direct interest and use to the local community and the surrounding region and even today the facilities were being fully utilised by the public.

There were four aspects of the programme each of which contributed to the development of the youth. First, the work projects, which aimed at the conservation of natural resources and provided socially valuable work; and, through them, the youth learnt many useful skills. Second, the collective life in the camp offered the youth, many of whom had led rather bare and constricted lives, a unique type of educative experience. It became a kind of "civic laboratory" for them in which they learnt the social techniques of cooperative living and sharing responsibility with their fellow workers, in carrying out the different tasks necessary for running the camp smoothly and efficiently. This included maintaining healthful conditions of living, making the camps look neat and beautiful and establishing pleasant and helpful social relations. In addition, there were many learning situations offered by the organised camp life—building work, first aid, hospital duties, cooking, electrical work, clerical work and office practice, radio work, care of tools, safety instruction etc. Participants acquired experience of performing different kinds of jobs and some of them were thus enabled to discover and choose their future occupation. I was told, for instance, of a bright boy whose family had fallen on difficult days during the period of



depression and who was, therefore, at a loose end unable to find work or receive higher education. He joined a CCC camp, was picked out by the doctor in charge as a hospital aid and, during the two years that he spent in the camp, he acquired real interest in medicine and showed a special aptitude for it. In view of his record in the camp, he was assisted in his general and professional education and is now a well-known medical psychiatrist. But for this experience he might possibly have been just a clerk or a salesman today. The example is not an exception.

The third aspect of camp life was *recreation* which developed gradually and was organised with varied degrees of efficiency and understanding in different camps. This included many kinds of activities, not all to be found in any one camp but scattered over the whole project—indoor and outdoor *games and sports*; *art and crafts* like basket work, wood work, weaving, block making, book binding, printing, interior decoration, metal work, model work, model making, photography and pottery; *appreciative and creative activities* like music, drama, reading and writing, sculpture and architecture; and *collection of natural specimens* like flowers, butterflies, sea shells, insects, crystals, fossils, ferns etc. In such activities personal interests and competencies could, and did, find suitable expression.

The fourth aspect of camp life concerned *educational programmes*, comprising organised study periods as well as more informal educational activities. Educationists were agreed that these programmes should not be sharply dissociated from the work projects, the general camp life and the recreational activities. They should be flexible and based on the needs and interests of the campers, who (it was argued) 'wanted materials to be presented which are authentic, stimulating and above rather than below their mental grasp'. The educators should have utilised fully the fine opportunity for educational experimentation which was available to them under the freer conditions obtaining in the camps. They provided a new type of environment for youth which was not associated in their mind with the ordinary educational procedures and routines of classroom teachers and formal lessons. Such formal education failed to attract many of the youth in that age group, as they were anxious to live a more *realistic* life and get their grip on real work. All this realisation too, however, was more in the domain of theory than practice and these ideas were expressed clearly at the stage of assessment rather than implementation. It should, however, be reaffirmed that the educational ends in view were to be achieved not merely through the *specific* educational programme but through the entire camp 'experience' in all its phases and, particularly, through the educative experience of productive work. Robert Fechner, the Director of the project, had recognised and emphasised the importance of hard and regular work in the general education of youth :

"Through the discipline of requiring the men to do a full day's work—40 hours work in the week—we have made them more employable, made them appreciate their fellow citizens and inspired them with greater confidence in themselves. *The knowledge that he can do a man's work helps make a man of a callous youth* (Italics mine). It builds up his self-respect; it makes him more democratic. Instead of permitting the growth of idle habits we give the enrollees a concept of a world where men must work". The idea that the work to be done should be 'exciting' was expressed by people in different countries, including some Indian students and teachers abroad with whom I happened to discuss this point. This principle has also been enunciated in the Report of the Special Committee on

Secondary School Curriculum (1940) appointed by the American Council on Education, entitled, "What the High Schools Ought To Teach" :

"Young people need to learn to work. Labour is the lot of man and it has not yet been recognised, as it should have been, in arranging institutional education. There is no factor in general education which is more important to consider than work. This statement should not be thought of as applying to a few marginal cases but should be accepted as a principle of the widest possible application".

This statement would have delighted Gandhiji and elicited his approval. It is interesting to note in this connection how closely allied is this idea of the educational value of serious productive work to our own underlying educational philosophy in the fields of Basic education and Multipurpose Secondary schools. It must, however, be regretfully admitted that we have not yet been able to exploit, boldly and imaginatively, the full educational possibilities of this truth in our schools or our labour and social service camps. In India, as in other countries, it is necessary to recognise how important are work experiences and social service to the community in the life of modern youth and to inculcate in them a faith in the value and dignity of work well done. There is no better way to strengthen their physical and moral fibre !

In the States there seems to be a growing feeling that, in some suitable form, the CCC idea should be revived, not as an emergency measure to meet any particular economic situation but as an educational movement of general significance. Many educationists regret that what was started as an emergency measure was not continued as a creative enterprise to enrich the total educational experience of youth. They have, from time to time, expressed the view that the full educational potentialities of this movement were not realised in the 1930's and that it *has* certain elements of abiding value which should be incorporated appropriately into the total educational pattern of the country. The Report prepared by the American Council of Education for the American Youth Commission has stated the view that "the needs expressed by countless youth through the 1930's are fundamental, not depression born. The depression (only) made them stand out in bold relief". It is not difficult to see why greater attention was paid to these needs at the time. When conditions are normal and society is generally prosperous, it is not as sensitive to the educational situation and problems and the needs of youth as in periods of depression or crisis. This is borne out for instance by the fact that the British Education Act of 1942 was envisaged and passed at a time when the war had cast its darkest shadow over British life and thought. Also, in our own country, educational issues have come imperatively to the forefront only after independence when we are struggling with a host of social, political, economic, cultural and psychological problems and unemployment has become one of the most serious issues before our planners.

In the States (as well as in several European countries), there is a growing realisation of the fact that a gap exists between the somewhat bookish and academic world of the school and the 'real' work-dominated world outside, and it is, therefore, necessary to provide for youth a type of experience, under controlled and supervised conditions, which would bridge this gulf. As one witness put it, the "firm hand of constructive work and compulsory discipline" is essential at this stage. This can be done, amongst other things, by creating "work-experience situations" both within the educational institutions and outside through various ancillary movements

in which youth work camps occupy an important place. In his 1938 Report, the Director of the CCC had pointed out that there were many types of work for which youth could always be used and which were not contingent on the unemployment situation, *e.g.*, building roads and fences, constructing small residential or community houses, improvement of many dormant and deteriorating areas, forest and park protection and development, soil conservation, upstream engineering, etc. It was estimated that on the projects which had till then been suggested by the Federal and State departments, 1,500 C.C. camps could be kept busy for 30 to 50 years! So there could be no dearth of suitable work for youth. And, if this is true of a well-developed country like the United States, it is obvious that the opportunities for such work in India are infinitely greater. Here one may almost say that the sky is the limit.

The question, however, remains: in what ways can this experiment be better organised and made a more vital educational experience for the normal youth who may wish, later, to proceed to the university or to take up their selected life occupations? In the American criticism and assessment of their scheme, stress has been, in the first instance, on a much larger educational element being included in the programme. In the CCC the educational background of the enrollees was very heterogeneous—from near-illiterates to those who had completed Secondary education and even some college graduates. With only one educational adviser for two camps, each with an enrolment of 200, work was naturally difficult and full justice could not be done to it. Dr. Morgan is of the view that “young men desiring to use their time in study might have been received in special camps reserved for persons with that degree of purposefulness” and good libraries, with a large and careful selection of books, placed at their disposal. Also, specific camps could have been organised, as part of the over-all pattern, to train promising youth in specific callings for which they showed special aptitude. In the actual set-up of most camps “there was little stimulus for men to read or study or enquire” and not sufficiently careful and imaginative planning of social activities. If such an educational approach was considered useful in the case of American youth who were not students and many of whom had not received Secondary education, its importance would seem to be infinitely greater in work camps designed for Indian youth, drawn from Secondary schools, many of whom will be anxious to pursue higher education (general or technical). An enrichment of educational content is, therefore, obviously called for in any new or revised scheme. This does not merely mean more lectures and seminars and reading of books on general subjects included in the college syllabi but a programme specially designed for youth with due regard to their age and their growing and realistic interest in the life and work of the community needs. It might also lead to a more intelligent appreciation of the meaning and purpose of their own activities by the participants and enable them to acquire useful technical knowledge related to them. As one incisive critic, who was closely associated with the scheme and who did not mince his words put it: “Many of the youth went out wrapped up in cellophane and came back as such. Nothing had happened to them”. This is perhaps an exaggeration with which most other persons would not agree. But this does underline a serious danger which our own planners would do well to ponder over and to take into consideration. Where sympathetic understanding of youth is lacking and the whole experience is not imaginatively directed, such a state of affairs is not unlikely. According to another well-informed critic, at least some of the camps were “little more than work camps which con-

tractors might operate in building a dam or a rail road", though he agreed that they were, on the whole, honestly and decently run. Again, our camps must ensure that the total programme is so designed that it will contribute to the development of the personality of youth in all its facets and, by a balanced approach, enrich their life as individuals and citizens.

Suggestions have, therefore, been put forward for the revival of the idea of these camps in several modified forms. A new experiment has been recently initiated in the New York-State, at the instance of Governor Rockefeller, to establish work camps for delinquent or 'potentially delinquent' youth, with the object of educating them back to normalcy through the therapeutic influence of socially productive work and community living. This is part of a wider, many-sided, "six million dollar" campaign against delinquency taken up in that State recently under the State Youth Board. It includes many other items in addition to the provision of camping services for children of "multi-problem families"—provision of services for 'uncovered areas of danger', expansion of evening and week-end programmes, use of vocational guidance facilities, family counselling and service to youth returning from the penitentiary through contract with private agencies. The work camp idea for such youth is by no means new, as there have been many such experiments in the past in various countries. The most spectacular of these was perhaps the "Gorky Colony" project in Soviet Russia soon after the Revolution. Obviously, if experience of this kind can prove useful in the case of such socially maladjusted youth, there is no reason why it should not be of greater educative significance for normal children and open out new opportunities of development for them. (This was, it will be recalled, the line of argument which Madame Montessori adopted when she used her didactic apparatus and methods in the education of normal children after her successful experience with mentally defective children.) Commissioner Whelan, who is in charge of youth services in the New York City has rightly observed that "everyone engaged in work with young people is ultimately involved in the job of *expanding their opportunities*. . . . Perhaps the most tragic fact about delinquency is that it grows out of the preventable failures and shortcomings of the home and the community". Ultimately all these adverse factors may be interpreted as failures, on the part of the community, to provide the right opportunities. The main justification for these work camps lies in the fact that, if they are properly organised, they provide a broader conspectus of opportunity in which the youth can make good some of the deficiencies of the home and the school environment. I cannot resist the temptation to quote the longish peroration at the end of the book, "Youth in the C.C.C." by Kenneth Holland and Ernest Hill which is no doubt rather high pitched but does present a picture of the CCC movement *at its best* :

"Let us remember that the CCC has been millions of American youth pouring into the camps with doubt and often desparate hope, often passive and discouraged and wondering about the future. Let us remember that millions have streamed back from the camps browned and stalwart and vigorous, with renewed courage, with better routines of living, with work skills they had not possessed, and with ambitions born in the camps.

"Let us remember that CCC has been youth planting new forests, building thousands of dams, building roads and bridges, making lakes and airports, erecting buildings for the public use, fighting destructive fires, fighting floods, finding lost children, building camps for national defence. Let us remember that the Corps has been foresters and

rangers teaching youth about conservation, foremen guiding their hands and minds in the ways of work, commanders teaching them order and responsibility, advisers teaching them to read, to carry on school work, to know more of the occupational world they were soon to face. Let us remember that the Corps has been all these officials teaching new skills. Let us remember that it has been men in Washington and in corps area and district headquarters patiently planning better facilities, fighting for schoolhouses and camp equipment and better camp routines.

"Let us remember that the Corps has been a gloriously aggressive agency, with a spirit of accomplishing the impossible—commanders and superintendents and advisers battling with merchants and chambers of commerce and their own superiors—'Our boys need these things and they are going to have them!' And it has been enrollees full of the same spirit—'Sure, we'll build a schoolhouse out of hours! Can't we get logs from the forest?' 'Let's landscape the camp!' 'Let's build a baseball field!' Let us remember that these boys have been proud of their work, and recognised its meaning for their land—'We made a public park where there was nothing but bush and trees!' 'We built a lake!' 'We made a museum and a nature trail and, boy, they were something to see!'

"And let us remember that CCC youth have carried this spirit of accomplishment back into farms, little towns, and cities. Let us remember that they have set tens of millions of Americans to talking about them, to praising their labor and their spirit.

"Yes, the CCC will live through its accomplishments and its energy. It has put an imprint upon service to youth and by youth which will not easily be effaced, and which future agencies for young American manhood must seek to match or excel. Its positive vitality dominates its imperfections and frustrations, and promises that, whatever may happen to names and regulations and administrative frameworks, the Corps will go on!"

The Corps was discontinued in 1942 but the idea of such camps, on a limited scale, has continued to operate in the States and many organisations, notably the American Friends Service Society, arrange such camps every year. Their main emphasis, however, is not on the completion of large scale projects but encouraging international or inter-group understanding through the experience of living together in fellowship and undertaking small projects of social service likely to be of perceptible use to the local or the neighbouring community. Work forms a part of all such camps but of equal importance is the chance that it offers to the participants to live an active outdoor life in contact with Nature, to establish educative relations with the rural people and to learn initiative, responsibility and self-discipline. It is interesting and significant to note that, even in these short duration camps of a dozen or two dozen students—often youngsters drawn from schools—it is possible to do a good deal of useful and rewarding work. I know of a camp which was attended only by about a dozen children between the ages of 10 to 14—under the supervision of a Quaker educationist—who were able to lay down telephone lines for a small village which the commercial telephone company of the area had been unable to promise for the next three years! The work was done economically, joyously and against prophecy of those wiseheads who had regarded this 'mad cap project' of young teen-agers as impracticable. In another summer work camp in

Ohio, about 20 young students were able to set up a number of cabins and provide other necessary amenities in the camp for their own use and for future campers. Appendix IV gives a brief report of this Camp which shows that teen-agers, inspired by enthusiasm and the right spirit, can do many useful things and gain valuable experience even through these short duration camps.

We have seen that the general appraisal of the CCC work has been favourable and, therefore, there is reason to believe that experience of this kind can be of great value in the education and social adjustment of youth. It is necessary, however, to take into account some of the adverse criticisms also, because they can serve as pointers to caution for our own planners and organisers. One such point of criticism has been already noted—the inadequacy of the educational programme and failure to integrate it with the rest of the camp life and activities. There were difficulties in securing the services of well-qualified educational advisers and, as the scheme was of an emergency nature, those who were recruited as such could not look forward to making a career in this field. Another line of criticism is that the administration of the scheme “left much to be desired”. As there were many different departments looking after the different parts of the programme—camp organisation, project work, education, recreation—it lacked unity and cohesion and, according to one writer, this led to ‘duplication, overlapping, friction, waste of effort, unnecessary expense, and lack of efficiency, flexibility and economy’. To some extent, in a big nationwide organisation such difficulties are inevitable but, if they are not to jeopardise the success of the project, care has to be taken from the outset to minimise them. Then there was lack of proper orientation programmes in many camps: “recruits were herded into camps with a few perfunctory lectures and a few days of physical and psychological conditioning” which did not prepare many of them effectively for the kind of work and experience ahead. Partly as a result of this failure, 15 to 20 per cent of the enrollees were reported to have been discharged or expelled because they got home sick or were unresponsive or sullen or rebellious or broke the rules of discipline. Some of them were simply and honestly unable to bear the quiet and loneliness of the jungle!

It would be necessary for the success of any similar experiment in other countries to organise a competent introduction to camp life through friendly reception and careful attention to individual needs, so far as that may be possible in a large set-up. Better care should also have been exercised, it is argued, to take their special interests, aptitudes and qualifications into account when assigning them to different types of camps and arrangements might have been usefully made for rotation *i.e.* to let them try different kinds of work assignments within reason. Also, as these camps were confined only to boys from destitute homes, the nation missed (according to the report of the American Youth Commission) “one of the finest chances . . . for a wholesome democratic, non-militaristic sharing of life (amongst youth drawn) from all kinds of economic levels”. Under our scheme in India, this particular lacuna will not arise but we may have to make a special effort to ensure that youth from privileged homes are drawn fully into it in their own interest.

These camps were placed, as already stated, under the over-all supervision of the army and it must be said to its credit that it did not “militarize” them as was the case with the Nazi camps. But it did, to some extent, impose military discipline on them with the result that the participants did

not get sufficient training in self-government, in directing their individual or group activities through chosen group leaders or committees. They could not, therefore, develop some of the qualities required for "creative" citizenship as opposed to "conforming" citizenship which aims mainly at carrying out orders. Where the emphasis is on the conformist approach, there will not be much scope for freedom and spontaneity on the part of youth. Here, as elsewhere, the basic problem is to reconcile the respective claims of freedom and organisation. It is, therefore, necessary that, in the detailed planning and implementation of projects and in the organisation of camp life—on the recreational as well as educational side—the participants should have the opportunity to cooperate and thus get a chance to acquire qualities of self-discipline and leadership. In a mammoth administrative organisation (like that of the CCC), there is a danger of the individual being overshadowed which must be avoided in the working out of the Scheme of National Service in India. In many circles, both in Europe and America, there was a genuine expression of concern—particularly amongst the Friends' groups—that the Indian experiment may not unconsciously be oriented towards the enforcement of a kind of military discipline which has a certain easy appeal but is not genuinely educative in the long run. The validity and implications of this criticism will be discussed in due course when dealing with the pattern of our scheme.

There has been a revival of interest in the scheme in the States. Recently a Bill was brought by Senator Humphrey before the Senate this year proposing that a "Youth Conservation Corps" (Y.C.C.) be established, consisting of 150,000 youth between the ages of 18 and 23 years, recruited on a voluntary basis, who should be required to put in two years of work in forests and camps on the lines of the CCC—building cabins and trails, planting trees and taking anti-erosion measures. The enrollees will be mainly youth who do not plan further studies. They will be paid the same amount as those under conscription, *i.e.*, about 60 dollars p.m. plus their board and lodging. The Senate actually passed the Bill and referred it to a sub-committee of the House which adjourned after a two days' hearing. It could not, therefore, be presented to the House and will have to be re-submitted to the new Congress. It was contended by the Senator that, apart from the educational advantages, the federal funds invested in the scheme will be more than repaid in the long run by the results of such work. In Appendix V at A, I have given some extracts from an article written by the Senator explaining the objects and purposes of the scheme, at B, a brief summary of the Youth Conservation Corps proposal (S. 812), and at C, some extracts from the Report of the Senate Committee on Labour and Public Welfare. These extracts include the views expressed by persons from many walks of life, with a firsthand experience or knowledge of the CCC work. It shows not only their warm appreciation of the achievements of the Corps but also their high expectations of what such a revised proposal might be able to do in dealing with the problem of adjusting American youth today to their social environment. These materials should be of interest to our educationists as well as public men and legislators.

In addition, the Senator has sponsored another proposal for establishing a "Peace Corps" which will consist of 10,000 graduates enrolled for a period of two years who volunteer to work in foreign countries, *at their request*, in the fields of education, health, hygiene, environmental sanitation and agriculture as an *alternative to conscription*. The first six months of this period will be spent by the members of the Corps in the States in

learning the languages as well as the social, economic and cultural problems and needs of the countries concerned and the rest of the period spent in actual service abroad. This means extending the idea of social service from manual work to the field of expertise and from the national to the international level. The proposal is still only at the level of discussion in public and newspapers but it does show how the mind of some socially sensitive persons is working in the direction of utilising the idealism and talent of youth in the service of peace and constructive purposes. Of course, the actual value of the project will depend on the spirit in which it is carried out and on whether it can be kept free from political entanglements and strings. But it is interesting to find such work being considered as a possible alternative to conscription for military training.

G. Japan

In Japan there is at present no scheme of national service for youth but the whole of its education, public opinion and family life has been traditionally spear-headed towards the idea of social and national service rather than working primarily for the individual self. There is no serious dichotomy between manual and mental work and the youth are generally willing to undertake all kinds of practical and technical occupations. Many of the students—according to one estimate, 50 per cent—work at jobs like typing, private tuition, selling papers, baby sitting or as labourers in factories and companies to meet part of their educational expenses. With the hard work they have to do to be able to get into college and the part-time employment that many of them take up, it was reported that any compulsory scheme of national service will not be generally acceptable. Some of the educationists were, however, greatly interested in the *idea* underlying the Indian Scheme which they considered important for all countries in the region, including Japan.

There is a keen realisation of the importance of youth work, and problems of discipline, delinquency and maladjustment are a matter of concern to the educationists. Various measures have been taken to bring about a proper adjustment of youth to their fast changing world. There is a "Central Council on Juvenile Problems", attached to the Prime Minister's office, which serves as a coordinating body for all voluntary organisations. Its membership includes five persons from the Diet, 11 representatives of the various concerned Ministries and eight from the voluntary organisations. Some of the member organisations, *e.g.*, the Young Farmers' League and the Community Youth Organisation conduct short duration camps for young farmers to carry out local projects. It was reported that, in the course of the year, six to eight thousand young farmers participate in these camps and the expenses are borne on a 50 : 50 basis locally and by the State Government. I did not, however, get the impression that it was either a large scale or a well-planned movement. In addition, there are I.V.S.P. camps, 4-H Clubs and other youth movements like scouting, guiding, Red Cross etc., and the regional youth organisations also occasionally take up social service projects.

In order to train youth for leadership, there is a National Youth Centre (at Gotemba) where batches of youth are sent for a period of two weeks (or less) in order to get an experience of living in youth communities and organising their own life and activities. During this period, they attend lectures on subjects of interest to them, participate in discussions seminars,

games, music and other recreational activities, look after the building and garden and arrange hikes and excursions. These youths, not necessarily students, are selected by local education boards or youth organisations or business concerns and Government departments where they are employed. I had the impression, however, that this training is not inadequate. In addition to this National Centre, which has fine facilities for residence, games and hobbies etc., there are over 50 local centres of smaller size and some more are being built with financial help from the Centre.

There was one rather interesting work project, which was initiated by the youth immediately after the war to which reference might usefully be made. This "Industrial Development Youth Corps" has now become a kind of technical training project sponsored by the Ministry of Construction under which youth are given some general and technical education on the 'job sites of land development projects' and are thereafter either absorbed in the country or sent out to Brazil where there are a number of Japanese industrial concerns. What is of interest to us in connection with our own project, however, is the form in which it was *initially* started during the difficult and exacting years immediately following the last War. It was a response on the part of unemployed and somewhat frustrated youth to the desperate national situation when they tried to make their own contribution to national reconstruction. I quote below extracts from an official publication of the 'Industrial Development Youth Corps':

"In the post-war Japan, the economy was in an extremely exhausted and chaotic condition owing to the collapse of industries brought about by the war, and the country was in a stage of utmost devastation.

"Moreover, repatriates and demobilised soldiers returned from abroad in large numbers to this small territory limited to four islands, and the population went on increasing.

"It is no exaggeration to say that almost all the people were unemployed or semi-unemployed. The unrest and anxiety of the people's minds were undeniable. Particularly in the rural areas which escaped the war damage and constituted the production source of food, people who had returned to the farm from cities, repatriates from abroad, etc. remained, aggravating the overpopulation of the rural areas. The youths who were to shoulder the responsibility of the next generation lost their will to work and were in a state of despondency, terrified by the social unrest and having no hope for the future.

"The Industrial Development Youth Corps movement was initiated by youths in various parts of the country who rose to their feet in the midst of such difficult conditions and of their own accord organised themselves into groups. Their purpose was to collectively participate in the land development projects such as the river, road, dam, erosion control, power generation and increased food production projects carried out every year by the national government and local public bodies for the reconstruction of the country and the economic rehabilitation and expansion. In this way the youths would work hard as the driving force for expediting the projects and through their work they would master the moral of work and the construction technique. In

other words, by learning while working the youths would find a way to future independence as construction technicians.

"The Ministry of Construction, being the Ministry in charge of the land development projects, has been aiding and educating the Corps since 1953. The sincere working attitude of the youths has been favourably commented upon by the public and good results have been steadily obtained in expediting the land development and in carrying out employment measures and measures for helping second and third sons of farmers and other youths".

There are some other similar projects, sponsored by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and the Ministry of Construction, which aim at giving "the youths of farm, mountain and fishing villages" an opportunity to perform constructive activities related to the industrial development of these communities. These youths are generally above 18 years of age, not students, who are engaged in various 'public constructive enterprises' for about three months and learn agriculture, forestry and fishing techniques. There are also many "Rural Communities Development Youth Corps" in which youths are enrolled to work on projects of land reclamation and improvement, food production, dam construction, road making, water conservation, afforestation etc. In many small cities and villages there are 'community youth organisations'—with a membership of about two millions, according to the official report—which carry on activities like road repairing, night watch campaigns, improvement of the local environment, promotion of fair elections and organisation of recreational activities. These are not primarily student organisations but they are useful in so far as they do provide some opportunities for practical training or for social service.

It will thus be seen that the general situation in Japan differs considerably from the Indian situation. The emphasis there is mainly on industrial and technical training rather than projects of social service as such. The basic problem of the emotional reorientation of youth, however, remains and—though they are essentially a very disciplined people—it sometimes erupts in the form of student indiscipline, political murders and suicides. A re-examination of the individual-social relationship and deepening and strengthening of the social sense are important problems which the Japanese people have also to face.

H. The Philippines

In the Philippines I found a keen consciousness of the intimate relationship between education and community life. Its community-school idea has received wide recognition and when I visited several schools, I was interested to find a real *rapprochement* between their work and curriculum and the activities of the surrounding community. As a result of this relationship, strong parent-teacher associations have developed which are a source of strength to the schools both financially and otherwise. Most schools have their advisory bodies, consisting of parents and other concerned interests in the community, who are associated with the process of selecting vocational courses and 'enriching the other curricular offerings'. As stated in a note provided by the Education Department, "part of the training of high school students is given in the school shops and on the school farms and the other part on farms outside the school and in factories, shops, business houses, transportation plants, mills, offices and homes of the community.

The high school teachers secure the cooperation of the owners of local factories, shops, business stores, offices, farms etc. in the country in which the students can gain experience and skills through actual work and performance in job." In some schools, social studies are linked up intimately with the practical study of the local community and projects of improving the hygienic and sanitary conditions of the neighbouring 'barrios'. The work done by students is brought to the notice of the community through suitable propaganda methods and, in some cases, it has been the precursor of community action. The services of local persons outside the school staff are utilised to give talks to the students in areas of their special competence so that they may get to understand the nature and organisation of community life from persons with first-hand knowledge.

In order to import work experiences more systematically into schools, students are encouraged to maintain school and home gardens, to plant trees on a big scale, raise poultry and pigs, carry on wood work and ceramics, make handicraft articles and undertake projects in home making and family living. In the 1960 Boy Scout Week, for instance, the main theme was "conservation" and, amongst the suggested activities to be undertaken by the scouts, were included such things as planting of trees in national, local and rural parks and plazas and in depleted and destroyed forest areas, construction of bird houses and animal sheds, campaign against pests, insects and animal diseases, visits to forest fire stations etc. Students are also utilised to demonstrate improved agricultural and animal husbandry techniques and better home making and interior decoration to the rural population. In these different ways an attempt is made to bridge the gulf between education and life and make education more practical. In at least one institution, the Philippines Union College which has both school and college classes, all the students are required to do—side by side with their academic studies—some productive or manual work on the college campus. They work on the college farm and in the cafeteria, dairy, hospital, community clinic, dining room etc. and thus earn a part of their keep. The *amount* of work can be adjusted, but some work is compulsory. In order to make this arrangement feasible, the course has been extended—as at the Berea College in the U.S.A.—from four to five years. If we envisage the National Service Scheme in the wider context of making education more meaningful and more intimately related to every day life and inculcating the attitudes and habits needed for the purpose, the relevance of such activities, organised within the ambit of educational institutions, to the objectives in view becomes obvious.

In order to deal with problems of youth adjustment there is a Youth Welfare Coordinating Council which brings together the different agencies working in this area. There has recently been a study of what do the youth need and what are their most difficult problems. The Philippine University has also carried out a project of research in youth delinquency and the general failure of youth to meet their adult responsibilities. It has listed the numerous factors which contribute to this situation and suggested how the work of fighting against it should be distributed amongst the various social agencies and national and local youth organisations. The Council is particularly concerned about the 13–17 age-group, of which about 80 per cent are out of school and it is considering the possibility of instituting a work camp movement for their benefit.

In the Philippines there is no national service scheme at present for high school graduates under the sponsorship of the Education Department.

Recently, however, a movement has been launched which aims at organising student groups in the vacations to undertake community service projects in such areas as literacy, recreation, physical development, health campaigns and beautification of the urban and rural communities. (Appendix VI gives extracts from the departmental circular pertaining to the scheme). The movement is still in its early stages. The duration of the service is short—at least a week—and probably the number of students brought within its scope is small, but it is important as a trend and as a recognition of the value of such work. The idea, however, is not new. It has been tried out in India in a variety of forms in different places and from 1940 to 1946; it was worked out in the Jammu & Kashmir State on a fairly large scale under the name of “Labour Week in Schools”.

In my discussions with educationists and social workers, I found that many of them were facing the same kind of problems as we, in the field of education and youth adjustment. They are concerned with the importing of work experiences more systematically into schools and they welcomed the Indian scheme as pointing a way towards this goal. Legislation has been recently proposed at the instance of the National Youth Welfare Council to start something like the CCC project in the forest lands of one of the provinces which is badly denuded and where youth camps will be organised with the help of the Bureaux of Soil and Forestry. The programme will include anti-erosion and afforestation work as well as study and recreation. The Philippine Y.M.C.A., which is a vital and active organisation is greatly interested in the scheme of work camps. Its dynamic secretary, Dr. Domingo Bascara, told me that this was just the kind of thing that they were thinking about and planning in their country. They wanted to develop a similar programme because such an experience could be of great significance for youth at that age. Under the auspices of the Association, the students' *work camp programme* for rural reconstruction was organised for the first time in 1952. These camps have since been attended every year by several hundred youths from colleges who live for about a month in poor villages and take up various projects of social service to “demonstrate how the ‘barrio’ people could make a better life for themselves. With the help of the villagers they constructed school houses and health centres, dug irrigation ditches and wells, set up cottage industries and taught reading and writing, better agriculture, home making, baby care. . . .” Dr. Bascara who launched this programme was confronted with a situation rather like our own—the need to prepare people for self-government and to teach them to rely on their own resources instead of depending on the Government to do everything for them. The education that was being provided to them in schools and colleges was defective and unpractical, geared only to Government service. There were about three million unemployed high school and college graduates with no desire on their part to take the initiative in improving their lot. Most of the ‘barrios’ where three fourths of the country's population lived, were a ‘scene of pitiful farms and wasted hopes’ without the facilities which would make life in rural areas worth living. As in India, so in the Philippines, this resulted in steady migration of educated villagers to the cities and the progressive impoverishment of village life. This situation led Dr. Bascara to the same idea which had occurred to the leaders of the CCC in the U.S.A. Why not bring the unemployed students and the neglected ‘barrios’ into fruitful contact by organising work camps for rural service? The programme was imaginatively conceived. The carefully selected volunteers were not just shoved into camps but “were first required to attend inspirational conference and then put in four hours of

hard study each Sunday for 18 weeks", supervised by chosen experts in rural subjects and other relevant fields of study. The camp leaders were carefully selected and trained for their job. When they had finished their orientation period, they put up their camp in some village where the conditions were particularly difficult. What followed may be described in the words of the reporter :

"The only water supply in the 'barrio' was from salty wells, and the people were covered with skin eruptions. While some students were digging an artesian well, demonstrating home economics, clearing playgrounds and setting up a basketball court, others went out among the people collecting money to build a community house that would serve as a clinic, meeting place for a 'barrio' council, and chapel. In two weeks the building was up and operating.

"Five student nurses ran the clinic, treating 200 patients a day, teaching child care to mothers. Others trained local people to take over the community house activities, conducted religious services in the chapels. At the end of the month the facilities were turned over to the community. When students arrived in another 'barrio' and asked what the village needed most, the people replied, 'Our school is falling down. We have been waiting three years for the government to repair it. Next month we will have to send our 150 pupils to the nearest town school, three kilometres away. The campers looked at the mud-floored, thatched-roof building, its sagging sides propped with poles. 'Why wait for the government?' they said. 'Let us build a new one—together'. An architectural student sketched plans, estimated the cost. While teams combed the 'barrio' to sell the project to parents, the campers put on benefit shows to raise funds. The people themselves did most of the work. Carpenters gave their services, farmers hauled gravels and stones for foundations and walls. On dedication day, the whole 'barrio' turned out to celebrate the occasion."

† In another village, students built a beautiful playground and a medical clinic, started cottage industries and 4-H clubs and set into motion many self-help projects for village improvement. In yet another 'barrio' where drunkenness amongst the youth was the most obstinate problem, another approach was adopted—providing recreational alternatives : clubs, playgrounds with game materials, competitions amongst the teams of neighbouring villages. It is reported that within a few weeks juvenile drunkenness fell by about 70 per cent.

The response to this challenge on the part of the people, which exceeded the expectations of the organisers, was greatly stimulated by actually seeing "college students working bare-footed and in workmen's clothes without pay" and happily 'soiling' their hands in hard and heavy manual work. Another factor which drew the people into it, was a sense of pride in the local community which was awakened by the movement. These work camps also proved, in some cases, to be solvents of religious differences. By enabling people of different faiths to work together on projects of common interest, frictions were resolved and harmony restored. None of these results are either novel or unexpected. As we have seen, whenever projects

† An article, dealing with this experiment has appeared in the Reader's Digest in 1957 from which some of these facts are taken.

have been made physically challenging and socially significant, they have always appealed to youth. If the campers have the capacity to work for and with rural people, they are drawn into cooperation with one another, and become willing architects of their own welfare. It is, however, important to note that such has been the experience in different regions and under quite difficult conditions, and, given the right leadership, we can achieve similar and possibly more spectacular results. Our traditions of social service, the recent impact of Gandhiji's leadership and the experience that we have so far had, both positive and negative, are a good foundation on which to build.

PART III

PATTERN OF THE NATIONAL SERVICE SCHEME IN INDIA

The broad objective of the National Service Scheme in India, as presented in the Deshmukh Committee Report, is to provide nine months' work camp experience for all youths, boys and girls, who have completed their Secondary education, before they join the college for further studies or proceed to earn their living. The main questions for consideration in the context of this scheme have been enumerated in Part I of this Report and I propose to deal with them in the light of the suggestions and observations made by persons in various countries with whom I have had the opportunity to discuss them.

Should It be Compulsory or Voluntary?

The first important question on which the success on the Scheme largely depends is : should it be introduced on a compulsory or a voluntary basis ? The pros and cons of this question were keenly debated everywhere. While opinion was predominantly in favour of a voluntary approach—for a variety of reasons—there were some persons who favoured compulsion. The argument in favour of compulsion mainly is that, without making attendance at the work camps obligatory for all concerned, it will not be possible to make a real and nationwide impact on the mind of youth. Under a scheme of voluntary service the likelihood is that only those will come in who already have a certain social sense and would consequently be inclined to take up social service any way. It will, to some extent, be like "converting the converted". On the other hand, a large number of youth would stay away because their temperament and upbringing or the influence of their social environment has not imbued them with social spirit. But these are precisely the persons in whom it is necessary to inculcate the spirit of service. It might also, in effect, mean confining the Scheme largely to the comparatively poorer youth from the rural areas who have no rooted reluctance to doing manual work and leaving out the well-to-do youth and the urban youth who normally have little chance to put in any effective manual labour and are generally inclined to look down upon it as somehow *infradig*. Conscription also makes it easier to enforce equality of treatment and, if the period is long enough, a more effective orientation towards rural life and problems can be secured in this way.

There are many arguments on the other side. There are some persons who are opposed *on principle* to any form of compulsion, particularly to compulsion for social service. Their view is that the idea of compulsion is not compatible with service, that service which does not spring from the inner urges of a person's mind lacks grace and savour. If you order a person to dig the earth for six hours a day or plant trees or terrace the hills and he has no choice but to do it, he is not rendering 'social service' in any real sense of the word but reluctantly carrying out a possibly unwelcome order. Amongst such persons who held the view special mention may be made of many fine groups of Quakers both in Europe and America, who are firmly opposed to compulsion. I was told that, even before my arrival in the U.K., some of them wrote to persons in England whom I was due to meet and asked them to 'warn' me against the success of an excellent

educative scheme being jeopardised through the application of compulsion. Another factor which operates strongly all over Europe against the idea of a compulsory approach—in France, Germany, Yugoslavia, the Scandinavian countries—is its association with the Nazi regime which had militarized the National Socialist Labour Service Youth Camps and made them an adjunct of its programme of “Nazification”. So far as these countries are concerned, they are not prepared even to consider that possibility. The general reaction was : “It will make all such work unpopular”. Moreover, in many of these countries there is compulsory military service for a period of one to two years—some of them, at least, appreciated the anomalous irony of this position!—and cannot see the justification for asking the youth to spend another year in the field of social service. As soon as they complete their education, they are anxious to start earning their living. Also, in some of these countries, there is full employment and a fairly good system of social and welfare services has been established. This is all to the good but this affluence has somehow dulled the edge of their social sensitiveness and I was often rather surprised to hear the remark that there was not much room or need for social service in their country and whatever was needed was being done through the normal educational system.

There were voices to the contrary which agreed with me that the idea of social service—of regarding the self as a dedicated instrument of the social good—should somehow be built into the minds of all youth and, for this purpose, both educational institutions and various extra-curricular activities should be utilised. But the line of argument which came up most frequently and emphatically was not one of principle but of *feasibility*, i.e. whether it was wise or practical to start the Scheme on a universal and compulsory basis and whether, in doing so, we were not courting failure which may queer the pitch for this most promising experiment for many years to come. To ensure the success of the Scheme it is necessary to ensure full public support and approval. If it is ‘forced’ on the youth and their parents unwillingly and their reaction is negative, there is a serious risk of the movement being defeated or discredited. It was also argued that, in a country of the size of India, it was not realistic to look for very quick results or to hope for a radical change of outlook in millions of youth without adopting *totalitarian* methods which may be *efficient* on a short range view but are always attended by serious long range dangers. So, even on the part of those who were in favour of compulsion eventually, there was a feeling that the Scheme should not be initially launched on that basis but should be preceded by pilot projects and experiments with different kinds of camps and patterns of organisation, e.g., rural and urban camps; long and short duration camps; camps attended by students only and mixed camps for students and non-students; camps with different types of staff and with varying proportion of manual and educational programmes. It would not be psychologically justified to expect that one set and rigid pattern, devised in an *ad hoc* manner would suit lakhs of students. The guiding principle in camp life and activities—even more than in schools—should be elasticity, informality and experimentation. This does *not* mean laxity or casualness or infirm discipline but does imply consideration for individual differences and local and group needs. This is certainly more difficult but also eventually more rewarding. It may not appeal to the mind of the typical bureaucrat who wants easy, fool-proof solution to delicate and complicated problems but the educationist, who knows the complexity of the issues involved, should appreciate and adopt a more intelligent and sensitive

approach in dealing with the many psychological and sociological problems that will arise.

Availability and Training Leadership

We have also to consider in this context the question of the availability of suitable leaders because that will determine the scope of the Scheme. Everyone without exception was agreed that the success of the movement will depend on the quality of its leadership—on our ingenuity, resourcefulness and capacity to provide the requisite number of good leaders. Unless they are carefully chosen and trained, the camps may not prove to be the kind of educational environment as envisaged in the Scheme. From what sources is this large corps of intelligent, understanding and dedicated persons to be recruited? It is not realistic to expect that many teachers of schools and colleges will have the necessary administrative flair as well as psychological understanding to become good camp leaders. They will be required to handle a very difficult task in 'human engineering' and adolescent psychology. It will be necessary to create and maintain the right atmosphere and spirit in the camps and somehow make social service of this kind put on the mantle of a great adventure. Obviously, it is not easy to maintain an atmosphere of enthusiasm and idealism over a long period of time and certainly it cannot be done by camp leaders of average quality. They will have to learn and work out techniques of making even dull work appear exciting or, at least, less dull. The youths will have to be led to realise that the doing of dull but useful tasks is an essential part of life. If they can see their relationship to the significant ends or purposes which they are serving, even routine and drudgery acquire a new meaning and importance. In the early stages of the movement, when it will be critically assessed by all it will be particularly necessary to have such imaginative leaders. We have also to take note of the fact that there is need for a very large number of teachers for Primary and Secondary schools and teacher training institutions to implement the Third Five-Year Plan and, therefore, it would be difficult to draw on this source to any considerable extent. Other possible sources are voluntary social workers, village level workers and others connected with community development projects. From all these categories it will be possible to get *some* suitable candidates, but I doubt if we will be able to get enough to meet the needs of a nationwide movement on a compulsory basis. Even if all the other factors—administrative, financial and human—are favourable to the idea of a compulsory scheme, realism will demand that the Scheme be initiated with due regard to the availability of the requisite personnel at every stage. This may well mean starting on a limited scale and gradually feeling our way to expansion as more and more persons of the right kind are forthcoming to take on this responsibility. While some preliminary training may have to be provided in special courses or seminars, the bulk of the training will have to be acquired *on the job by working with the trainees*. Out of the struggle with the problems as they arise, will come many of the solutions which can be revised and modified in the light of fuller experience later. Another promising area from which recruitment will be increasingly possible in the future is the trainees themselves who show special interest and aptitude for this work and, by attending additional camps and by working as deputy leaders or 'monitors' (in the French sense) acquire the right kind of experience. It is obvious, however, that this catchment area will only develop in due course and, from this and the other sources indicated, it may be possible

over the next 10 or 15 years to get an adequate number of suitable camp leaders. Meanwhile, an attempt should be made to develop a well-organised cadre of service for them which will make it worthwhile for young men (and women) of promise to adopt this work as a career. On this account as well as for many other reasons, it is necessary to ensure that expansion is planned on the basis of tested and intelligently evaluated experience so that quality may not be sacrificed at the altar of *large scale perfunctoriness*. It may be added that it is not merely the preparation of leaders but also of all the necessary apparatus—accommodation, transport, equipment, tools and educational materials—that will set the pace for the realistic expansion of the Scheme.

In the detailed discussions that I had with some of the persons most deeply interested in the Scheme, several suggestions were made as alternatives to a start on a universal and compulsory basis. Even some of those who were opposed to compulsion in principle recognised the validity of the argument that any scheme which drew only a small minority into the net would fail to make a wide impact. One of these suggestions was that, in the first place, we may prescribe a shorter period of compulsory service for all—say, three months,—and this may be followed by *voluntary* participation, for a longer period, by the youth who are most deeply interested in it. This could, at a later stage, be made a condition for the privilege of receiving higher education in the university. From amongst these youths may be recruited the future leaders for the camps. They will have shown greater interest in the movement and required fuller experience which would stand them in good stead in due course.

Another possibility which may be usefully considered and which will ensure equality of treatment is that all the youth within the prescribed age-group or who complete Secondary schooling should be made liable under the law to be called up for national service but it should be left to some designated authority or selection committee to decide who and how many are to be called up in any particular year. The method of selection may well be by ballot. In this way, all the youth, irrespective of their social and economic status, will be enrolled but it will depend on the selection agency to determine, with due regard to resources and feasibility, what proportion of the total number are to be taken in any particular year.

The Duration of Service

This question is also closely linked up with the *duration* and timing of national service. The complexion of the problem will change considerably, depending on whether this is to be a period of two to three months or nine months, as proposed in the Committee's Report and whether the whole of this service is to be given in one continuous stretch or, at least for the university students it may be spread over two or three long vacations. This will also have some bearing on whether the requisite number of camp leaders can be provided. If the work camps are held mainly in the vacations, it may be possible to utilise the services of suitable teachers from schools and colleges and perhaps of other social workers for this purpose. If, on the other hand, it is decided to make it a continuous period of nine months, it will be necessary to recruit a special cadre of whole-time officers for it. In view of the paucity of persons of the right calibre, it would obviously be easier to implement the Scheme if work is to be done mainly in the vacations. But there are certain other important psychological and

climatic considerations involved in deciding the period of service which must be taken into consideration. To these, we should now turn.

The main argument in favour of a longer period is that, without it, it would not be possible to make a real and permanent impact. If the youths work in the camps only for a couple of months, they are unlikely to acquire new habits and attitudes or social and practical maturity or even to become physically 'hardened'. Changes in attitudes and behaviour, it was argued, cannot be brought about so quickly and a period of nine months may well be necessary to make any perceptible and lasting change. This is, however, a matter about which educationists, psychologists and camp organisers hold different views and the experience gained in different countries is not conclusive. Some educationists expressed the view that, under proper guidance, a period of three months should be quite enough to make an impact on the mind. In many camps, run under proper conditions and right leadership, *e.g.*, by the Quakers, experience has shown that even within a few weeks it is *possible*—not certain—to make some impact on the minds of the participants. In fact, according to some organisers of international work camps, where the emphasis is on better mutual understanding and psychological reorientation, the *optimum* period is estimated to be about two months. It has been observed that, in the first three or four weeks, social adjustment seems to proceed fairly smoothly because everyone is anxious to "show oneself as one would like to be seen". Real education, however, starts 'when the masks fall down' and crises of relationships and problems of adjustment arise which the group has to solve with the help and unobtrusive guidance of the leader. If there is intelligent leadership and the groups are small, the struggle with these problems becomes a genuinely educative experience. It has, therefore, been contended that camps of a shorter duration than about six weeks are not psychologically educative in the deeper sense. On the other hand, if they are carried on continuously for a much longer period, say, six or nine months, there is the danger that the social sense may fail to respond continuously on a mass scale, boredom may set in and the monotony of the work may kill the initial enthusiasm of youth. In order to safeguard against this danger, two suggestions have been put forward. One of them is to break up large projects into manageable units, on a weekly and daily basis, and thus avoid the rather depressing prospect of long vistas of monotonous labour ahead. Again, in the actual organisation of projects, it may sometimes be preferable to adopt the 'task approach', rather than the 'time approach', *i.e.* to define the project to be completed and leave it to the campers to complete it as quickly as they reasonably can, instead of insisting on following a rigid time schedule.

This difference of views even amongst experts in any case, shows that the question needs to be studied experimentally by assessing under controlled conditions, the impact of both types of camps, *i.e.*, for three months and nine months. My own view is that there is nothing sacrosanct about the suggested period of nine months or the easier alternative of three months. It is largely a matter of how intelligently and imaginatively the work camps are organised and their activities are planned and balanced. If the leadership is poor and unimaginative, a nine-month camp may only be three times more boring and useless than a three-month camp! If it is good, the campers are likely to benefit more from a nine-month experience than from a three-month one. This difficult question cannot obviously be decided merely on the basis of the degree of their impact as many other administrative and financial considerations enter into it—but it will be an advantage

if the Scheme is experimentally tried in some selected areas to see whether, under good leadership, a three-month camp would provide a really desirable educative experience. If the answer is in the affirmative, the most important argument in favour of necessarily organising camps for a longer duration will lose a good deal of its force and, for the present at any rate, we could initiate the Scheme with confidence on the basis of three-month camps which would be more easily manageable. The only experience of a long period of compulsory service has been in the field of military training which is in some ways a very different thing with its own special purpose. In the case of the CCC in the U.S.A.—which was a large scale experiment—the minimum period was certainly six months but it was on a voluntary basis and the participants were unemployed youth from poorer homes who were neither likely to proceed to higher education nor were able to find regular employment. So, in their case, it was more like a substitute for regular employment than social service. In all the countries I visited, I found that social service had been organised for short periods and on a voluntary basis.

This is not meant to suggest that long duration camps are not at all feasible or cannot prove educative. (After all, when a scheme is sound and necessary, difficulties are meant to be overcome.) But the preceding discussion does highlight two relevant considerations. First, the organisation of nine-month camps of this kind involves far more difficult and ticklish problems—administrative and psychological—than short duration camps, and there is very little experience of the kind in other countries on which we may build. Second, it would be unwise to adopt the bureaucrat's stream-rolling approach in a matter like this and lay down a rigid and uniform pattern which must be followed everywhere without first making any controlled, pilot project experiments. It is necessary to study the psychological aspect of this problem with care and try out different patterns of organisation before starting a large scale or nation-wide scheme.

Size and Composition Groups

Another point which is worth considering in this connection is the composition and size of the youth groups. The proposal is that these should be confined to Secondary school graduates and a further suggestion has been mooted by the Union Education Ministry's Working Group that, in the first place, only those intending to proceed to the university should be included. Again, with a view to starting the Scheme realistically and limiting the numbers, it is envisaged that there should be a staggering of enrolment by including, in the first instance, the students in the youngest age-group—say, 14 to 15 years—and gradually, in about three years' time, covering the rest. All these are devices to keep the numbers within manageable limits which may be necessary if compulsion is introduced. But, if it is decided to do so on a voluntary basis and the problem of numbers is not acute, we should also consider the advisability of including some non-students or uneducated youths also into these camps. Respect has to be inculcated not only for work but for the worker also and this can be achieved (or, at least, attempted) through working cooperatively with neighbouring village/town youths. There may be difficulties in mixing these different groups together and it may not appear to be a very 'efficient' arrangement to begin with but it is likely to pay in the long run. According to some experienced youth workers, there is a risk that an exclusive students' group may adopt a somewhat superficial approach to work. A genuine sense of fellowship, of democracy in the deeper sense, can be developed through such association. In

fact, it would be a test of its reality if our educated young persons are willing to work shoulder to shoulder with the village youth. It may be feasible, for instance, to lay down that a certain proportion—say, 10 per cent of such youth could be admitted to the camps. I throw out the suggestion for consideration in due course—not necessarily at the very outset when there will be many other problems to tackle.

How can we ensure that the camps are divided into different groups and units in such a way that they will provide the best environment for the development of the individual? Psychologists and sociologists have actually studied this problem of individual-group relationship with care and some of them, *e.g.*, Karl Mannheim, have expressed the view that the social and emotional education of the individual is most effective and fruitful at the level of the Primary group which is of the size of a large family or 'the adolescent gang' i.e. about 12 to 16 members where face to face contact and personal relationships are possible. A larger group tends to break up into smaller groups while a small group may throw petty individual problems into undue prominence. Obviously, in a large scheme like our own, it will not be feasible to follow the pattern of small work camps like those organised by the I.V.S.P. or other similar organisations. But it may be possible to divide up large groups in a camp into smaller units and thus combine the advantages of a massive movement with the educational value of active participation in small, self-governing groups. I would also suggest that, in the over-all planning of the Scheme, there should be sufficient elasticity to allow both types of camps—big camps which can be run more efficiently and economically and tackle large projects, and smaller camps where there is more intimate and rewarding personal relationship amongst the members and a greater sense of individual enrichment. The first type has certain obvious advantages but it does not provide the same degree of opportunity for teaching youth, to think or act for themselves or for promoting cooperation with the community. It can, however, be a good preparation for later participation in small, educationally significant camps and prospective leaders should have experience of both.

Another important aspect of camp organisation is the establishment of good relations with, and winning the cooperation of, the local community. It should be the endeavour of the campers, whenever they are working in or near any rural or urban community, to work *with* the local people, interest them in the projects and, where feasible, involve them in their implementation. In our scheme, it is envisaged that many of the projects will form part of the work being done in community project areas and, therefore, the importance of such an approach becomes even greater. Our object is not merely the hardening of their muscles but making them sensitive to the rural situation and the rural people and their problems. This cannot be achieved by the camps functioning in a kind of 'splendid isolation' in which the local community only plays the part of sceptical or curious spectator. I found that in some of the work camps, run by the U.K. United Nations Association, for helping the refugees, the latter participated fully in the project, digging foundations, building houses etc. and this made the experience more valuable for the campers.

Nature and Selection of Work Projects

We have next to consider carefully the nature and type of the constructive projects which are to be included in the programme. On their proper selection and organisation will depend, to a large extent, the response of the

youth and the success of the Scheme as a whole. A number of questions arise in this connection. Should these be large projects or small projects? Should we design any special projects for youth or only involve them in the implementation of schemes included in the Five-Year Plan? What should be the manner of their selection? What are the conditions that they should fulfil if they are to capture the enthusiasm and secure the cooperation of youth?

The first point that was universally stressed in my discussions with persons of experience was that the projects should be real and exacting and of national significance so that they will challenge the imagination of youth and put them on their mettle. If there is a feeling, on their part, that it is 'made' work or 'phoney' work which is not of any real social significance, the whole value and grace of the experience will be lost and they will not put in their best effort into it. In the words of Commissioner McClosky of New York, a person of wide experience with youth work and an incisive mind, "there is no point in building a road which goes from nowhere to nowhere and gets washed out in the next rain!" The "Protestant ethic of work"—work for the sake of work, rather than as a part of life, which is not geared to any great and perceptible social purpose—does not appeal to youth either psychologically or emotionally. In the youth camps under Hitler, the campers were sometimes asked to dig pits and then fill them up! This may be a good way to break their spirits and teach them to obey orders unquestioningly but it is obviously *not* an educative approach. This is an extreme case but there are other instances where due regard has not been paid to this crucial condition. In some of our own labour and social service camps, for example, this has been a noticeable weakness. The campers, for example, have sometimes built a *kachcha* road to a village but no one has been made responsible for its later improvement and upkeep, and the next monsoon has just washed it out. The youth, who may well know this fate of their labour enterprise, cannot obviously be enthused over it. As all intelligent teachers know, it is difficult to fool children—or youth! It may be better to build a urinal in the city or clear a slum than take up 'fake' projects in rural areas where workers 'only go through the motions'. There should be no doubt whatever in their mind that the project has an authentic value and is rationally planned, e.g., it does not involve clearing away heavy flood boulders by hand for weeks when a bulldozer can do that work in a few hours. The projects may be major projects of national significance or may arise out of local community needs, but one basic condition should apply to all of them—they must be genuinely useful to the people. In the formulation of the over-all scheme, a room should be found, as already suggested, for both types, and, as it is proposed to implement it on a district basis, the district committees should be able to suggest and formulate many smaller projects of local significance. At the same time, it is essential that some big national projects should be formulated which would offer a real challenge to youth. Sometimes the situation itself provides the challenge. In Nigeria, for instance, so many work camps were organised on an emergency basis to fight against an intense epidemic of 'foot-and-mouth' disease which had broken out amongst the cattle and which was quickly controlled through the unsparing efforts of the youth. Incidentally, I was interested to learn that some of the best work in the Nigerian camps was done by the prisoners who were drawn in to it.

One very intriguing and useful suggestion that has been made in this connection is that youth service may be specially utilised for constructing the very large number of school buildings which will be required for the Third Five-Year Plan. Just as the Yugoslav youth built an 'International Highway', why should not the Indian youth help in the building of a 'National Highway of Education' during the next Plan? In addition to building schools, they can help in this great nation-building project by repairing and improving school plants, by making simple tools and materials for use in schools, and by offering to act as assistants to the paid teachers wherever additional help is needed. Other Ministries and Departments may similarly be able to think out some major projects of special interest to them which would also appeal to youth, e.g., food, self-sufficiency drive or cleaner villages drive or provision of clean water for all or plantation of national parks etc. It would be worthwhile to design some special projects, outside the Plan, if necessary, which they can complete on their own. Some of them may be projects which would otherwise not be taken up by any other agency. Such work gives a sense of achievement and completion to the individual and the group and a feeling that they have made a gift of their own to the nation. It is not possible or necessary for me to say which of these suggestions are likely to be practicable. I am only interested in drawing attention to the *kind* of projects which may be considered under this category with the object of channelling the energy and enthusiasm of youth on a few projects of great national value and urgency.

At the same time, it will be desirable to utilise the youth for some of the projects which are included in the Plan, provided they are of the kind that will appeal to them and are within their competence. Educated youth will not realistically understand the common people and their problems unless they participate in some actual schemes being carried out by them and for them under the Plan. The selection of suitable projects of either category which will keep them happily and sensibly occupied for several months, is a difficult and skilled job for which the cooperation of various expert agencies like the Public Works Department, Forest Department and Ministry of Community Development etc., should be sought and educationists should be associated with the final selection.

General Condition for the Success of the Projects

The actual implementation of the projects will present many problems, and challenge the intelligence and ingenuity of the organisers. Some of the conditions which are necessary for the success of the projects, as enumerated by a well-known psychologist, Gordon Allport, are :

- (a) They should meet the genuine needs of the community or the particular group which they are meant to serve and their value should be apparent to the community as well as the workers.
- (b) As far as possible, the local community should be given an opportunity to participate in the planning and execution of the work.
- (c) They should provide ample opportunity for work by the unskilled participants also.
- (d) While the manual work assignments should be realistic and strenuous, they should be held within reasonable limits so as to allow adequate room for other aspects of the programme,—educational and recreational. Unless the programme is well balanced, it will not be able to sustain the interest of the kinds of youth who are to be drawn into our scheme.

In fact, this issue was raised specifically during my discussions. Is it really necessary that these educated youth, many of whom are likely to go for higher education, should do a great deal of *manual work*? If this aspect is over-emphasised, it was argued, it may create distaste instead of inculcating a sense of the dignity of labour. I pointed out that, in our situation, there was a special importance and justification for educated youth taking up such work. But there is validity in the plea that this should form part of a broader concept of social service which would include a variety of activities for the common good. Medical work, provision of Elementary education, teaching of simple hygiene or domestic skills to village men and women, running centres of children's and women's centres, encouraging recreational and art and craft activities and the 'adoption' of particular villages for many-sided service may not be manual labour, but they are certainly useful forms of social service which can be suitably included in the programme in reasonable proportion.

- (e) The leaders and the staff should be given adequate training, theoretical and practical, in the various functions which they will have to perform. The leader will have to work as a member and participant of the group, not merely issuing orders but training youth in the art of leadership, not 'indulging in self-display or power seekings' but facilitating the free development of those under his supervision by delegating some of his functions as work director or educational leader to them. It will be necessary for him to have some understanding of 'group dynamics'—how to conduct meetings and discussions, how to elicit active response and how to provide guidance and counselling. He must learn to hold the scales delicately even between over-direction and confusing lack of direction with democracy.

Publicity and Propaganda

As I have already stated, in order to implement the scheme successfully, it is necessary to secure the full cooperation and willingness of all the parties concerned, general public, students, parents, schools and colleges, public leaders, etc. This will have to be a high exercise in intelligent salesmanship and will require a careful psychological approach. Unless they are duly prepared for its acceptance, there will be many hurdles in the way. How is this to be done? First, there should be an impressive demonstration of the fact that educationists as well as the public and Government attach very high value to this work and look upon it as 'honourable service' to the nation. The CCC had acquired considerable prestige in the U.S.A. because of the interest taken in it by President Roosevelt and it is a good augury that our own Prime Minister has been personally interested in the National Service Scheme from the outset and is, in fact, an initiator of the idea. By making use of all effective methods of publicity and audio-visual media—including recorded speeches of the most influential and highly respected intellectual and political leaders of the nation—this sense of work-prestige should be instilled in the minds of children and youth. Actually this should start in the school and form part of the objective of formal education.

A programme like this will undoubtedly involve some degree of interruption in the normal course of studies and it is, therefore, not merely desirable but imperative that the students, their parents and educationists—particularly in the universities—should understand its real *raison d'être* and purpose. Otherwise, there may be active or passive resistance, on the score that it is a kind of faddist interference with education—which is often equated in the minds of many persons with book learning—and that it will adversely affect the achievement of high standards. This calls for the education of public opinion in the true and deeper meaning of education. But there is some validity in the criticism which we should take into account in order to meet the objection raised. For this purpose the quantum of manual work should be duly regulated and, as already recommended, the programme should include educational, cultural and recreational activities so that the students' academic and cultural interests may be kept alive.

Again, the idea of doing such work should be introduced fairly early in the school so that children—and their parents—may become accustomed to it. It should not start as a sudden and violent break from what they have been doing for years in schools but come in as a natural outgrowth from various kinds of manual work, practical activities and types of social service which are already part of their educational programme. From this point of view, our schemes for the reconstruction of Primary and Secondary education, in so far as they are competently implemented, should form a suitable preamble to such work camps. In some other countries, this preliminary training is provided through the importing of 'work experiences' in education or through students taking up paid work in term time or during the vacation. Some institutions have made more systematic experiments in this field. I understand, for instance, that teachers under training in many of the rural institutes in Turkey built their own hostels and classrooms and produced a good deal of food and clothing for their use. At Berea College (in the U.S.A.) in the early years, the students produced most of their food, clothing and fuel and worked with members of the paid labour force in constructing college buildings. Even now, it is compulsory for all students to do at least two hours of manual work every day on the college campus—in the hotel, the bakery, the woodwork and auto-repair shops, in craft shop and other commercial or industrial concerns of the college. This gives them useful experience and enables them to earn while they learn. Obviously, students (in schools or colleges) who are thus attuned to hard, manual work as part of their education will respond quite favourably to the idea of work camps.

Orientation of Youth to the Scheme

So far as our students are concerned, they will require some pre-orientation in school as well as planned orientation during the actual period of national service. While they are still in school, they should have an opportunity to participate in short duration camps like labour and social service camps. They can also be nationally enrolled in the National Youth Service Scheme two or three years *before* they are actually due to be called up. They will thus get familiarised with the idea that, in due course of time, they will have to (or will be invited to) put in the required service in work camps. Thereafter, when they have completed their term, they may continue to be treated as being 'in reserve'

and liable to be called up for community service in times of emergency—like floods, epidemics etc. The most promising of the youth could likewise be used, on a voluntary basis, for running other camps. In this way the movement would, in a sense, be *built* into the total educational system and the general response of youth would be more willing and favourable.

It is also important to arrange that, before students actually start working in the camps, they should have a short period of direct orientation to the conditions and type of life and work which they are likely to meet there. The youths will be coming into a new world which, in many ways, will be quite different and certainly more exacting in discipline and hard work than their home or school environment. They will have to follow a strict daily routine and a new type of community life in which no one starts with any initial weightage but each has to find his own place and perform a number of possibly unaccustomed household chores. The camp site may be quite far away from the city with its usual attractions and distractions;—there may, for instance, be no cinema within easy reach! It would not be easy for many youth, used to urban life and leisurely ways, to fit into this new environment and, if they are not properly oriented, there may be many casualties in the way. It is, therefore, suggested that *vestibule* camps may be organised where the youth may be received for a month or a fortnight during which they will be initiated into the camp routines and learn to understand its rules and regulations and its *way of life*. This opportunity should also be utilised to train the youth, as a matter of collective honour, in good manners of speech and social courtesies which sweeten the intercourse and make life more pleasant and gracious. Even if we could teach all our young men and women to say 'thank you' sincerely and pleasantly, on all occasions, it will be a gain of incalculable value. They might also, during this period, start doing manual work on a limited scale. There would always be a great deal of work to be done even around the camp itself: improving the layout and grounds, constructing side walks, painting the buildings, cutting firewood, drawing water, working in the kitchen etc. One of the most important objectives of their training in camp is to teach them how to get on pleasantly with others and to participate in collective life and activities. This may very well start in the 'vestibule' camps for all new entrants so that they may not later create difficulties and complications of adjustment when they are transferred to the main camps.

In India, a fairly good climate has been created for the introduction of the Scheme already by the approval given to it by various educational bodies and authorities and public leaders and there is no reason why, once its form and scope have been clearly and realistically defined, public support should not be forthcoming. But in defining them we must take into proper account the economic situation prevailing in the country and the circumstances and psychology of the youth. So far as the former is concerned, it is a point for consideration whether a majority of parents can afford the veritable increase of the period of Secondary education by one year. Only recently, in most States, this period has been increased from 10 to 11 years and, if we require all the youth to put in nine months of compulsory national service, it would mean the lengthening of the period to 12 years. If the young men and women are to start their university career or making their living a whole year later, it will entail considerable financial hardship on many of them. That is one of the reasons why I have considered it advisable to recommend a voluntary

approach and to leave open the possibility of the total service being given either in one long stretch or in instalments according to individual circumstances. Moreover, even if compulsion is to be enforced in the early stages, the balance of advantage would lie in prescribing a shorter period of, say, three months which may not interfere unduly with the schedule of studies and which may be easier to enforce.

The Attitude of the Youth

What about the students' own response? I am not aware whether any kind of opinion poll has been attempted to determine their attitude to this proposal. The situation is complicated by the fact that, on the one hand, their present state of mind will itself largely determine whether the scheme is to be a success and, on the other, it is to some extent this very state of mind which the scheme is meant to change or modify. The national struggle for freedom had mobilised the energies and enthusiasm of various sectors of the population and had also drawn a large number of students into its orbit. They were carried along a wave of national enthusiasm and idealism and made sacrifices, buoyed up by the hope—like the adults—that once freedom was attained, their pressing needs will be satisfied and the doors of a better life will open out to them. Many of them did not realise—do not still realise clearly enough,—that nothing worthwhile can be gained without strenuous effort and that the peaceful construction of national life is a more difficult and sobering challenge than the intoxicating challenge of the fight for freedom. This is a lesson to which our wisest leaders have been drawing the attention of the people repeatedly—the need for hard work and discipline. On the occasion of the last Independence Day, the President of the Republic stressed it in the following words :

“Unless the individuals composing the nation evolve some discipline for themselves in the national, and ultimately in their own interest, the nation cannot hope to forge ahead and make the best of the opportunities preferred by the most meticulous exploitation of its material resources. Let us be sure, therefore, that our nation's march to progress rests on the solid foundation of individual and national discipline, without which our resolve to build up a Welfare State and our efforts to eradicate all misery and suffering from this land may ever remain a dream. Call it by whatever name you like, we have to develop a sense of discipline, which is only another name for devotion to duty which will at once provide the norm for our day-to-day behaviour and an ideal to strive for, and, if necessary, to suffer for.”

So, when freedom was attained and many of the expectations, rather glibly entertained, were not fulfilled, the youth found themselves caught in a serious crisis of frustration. This was aggravated by the increasing pressure of unemployment which, both in prospect and in fact, is a most demoralising factor. Although the opportunities for employment have expanded considerably in certain fields in recent years, the increase in population and in the number of educated unemployed has not at all reduced the tension. Many of the students in colleges and schools cannot see any openings before them and, when they finish their education, they find themselves in a *cul-de-sac* with an empty life staring them in the face. Is it any wonder that, under the circumstances, many of them do not take

their studies seriously? This is perhaps the basic and the most important reason for the growing indiscipline which we find today amongst the student as well as the non-student youths. Now, if these youths are to be psychologically reclaimed, the National Service Scheme should be organised in such a way that it will solve some of their frustrations and give them the feeling that they are doing socially worthwhile work and are regarded as respectable and responsible members of society. The rewards may not be—in fact *must* not be—financial but the work should be invested with due national prestige and kudos. It is to ensure this feeling that I have stressed so much the idea of publicity, propaganda and proper orientation and pointed out the importance of the right selection of projects. The point has been made, but it will bear repetition, that this movement will fail utterly in its purpose if the projects are not realistic and challenging and the youth find that they can just “putter” on the job or, if they are not designed with some vision and imagination and are unable to cater to the development of their total personality.

How to Win the Cooperation of the Youth

In the Report of the Deshmukh Committee there is a very good analysis of the background situation and an excellent enunciation of the purposes in view. It seems, however, to have been tacitly assumed that, if the scheme of nine months' compulsory labour is put into effect, all these results will necessarily follow. Thus there is, what Dean Smith (of Berea College) called, and “omitted middle” between the *ends* aimed at and the *programme* proposed. It is necessary to define and progressively clarify the *means* which should be adopted to secure these ends. The camp leaders should not only understand them in so far as they can be defined at this stage but be constantly alert to evaluate whether and to what extent the ends are being actually achieved and to modify the means in the light of experience. Efficiency in productive work and achievement of prescribed targets are not the ends but the means for their education. The question which the camp leaders should constantly ask themselves is: what is happening to the youth as they pass through this new kind of experience? Are they acquiring a sense of responsibility and inner direction? Are they learning the habits of working in a disciplined and cooperative manner and beginning to discover that there is dignity in all useful work? Have they better understanding of, and sympathy with, rural people and their problems? What are the means that we have at our disposal for achieving these ends? In this connection, reference may be made to some useful suggestions which deserve consideration:

- (a) The most important factor would be the personal influence of the staff who should be able to show ‘consistent fidelity’ to the aims and ideals of the movement in their behaviour. Unless they can exemplify in their life the values which they advocate, they will not be able to transform these camps into educative communities. While this is an educational principle of general validity, it applies with particular force in a situation like this where the staff and the students will be living together all the time and not merely meet in the classroom. This underlines the importance of proper selection and training and of scrupulous care to see that the appointments are not in any way influenced by political or personal pressures.

- (b) In the last years of the school as well as during the camping period, the idea of service and of the dignity of manual work should be inculcated in the mind of youth through lectures, discussions and inspirational readings. Suitable selections from the writings of Gandhiji and Tagore, Tolstoy and Carlyle which are relevant to this idea and from the speeches of the President, the Vice-President and the Prime Minister should be compiled and made available to all youth.
- (c) The academic programmes should be carefully oriented to the objectives and values in view so that there may be coordination and harmony between them and the National Service Scheme.
- (d) The entire camp programme—academic, social and technical—should be so planned that the youth will feel convinced of the value of the experience, and the community will appreciate the work done by them. It should include suitable training in health habits, first aid, hygiene, social and civic problems, recreation and hobbies, as well as some simple technical and vocational skills,—whether arising out of camp jobs or related to specific jobs. Experience in Yugoslavia, the U.S.A. and some other countries has shown that such technical courses are very useful and popular. So far as our country is concerned, it is also possible that they may help to divert some of the students, not academically inclined, from the university to technical training and occupations, and thus reduce the pressure of unsuitable admissions. There has been some talk of the camps being utilised for the purpose of vocational guidance and counselling. I do not know how far this idea will be feasible but the possibility certainly needs to be explored.

Nature and Place of Educational Programme

A good deal of discussion has been going on about the nature of the *educational* programme to be included in the Scheme and the report of the Deshmukh Committee as well as of the Working Group has given thought to the problem. There is general agreement that, in the work camps to be organised for the educated youth, there should be provision for suitable types of educational activities. I am generally in agreement with the proposals made regarding the content of this programme in the Report though naturally their nature and detailed scope will have to be determined with due regard to the duration of the camp. I would, however, suggest that these educational programmes should be provided on a voluntary basis but made so interesting and attractive that almost everyone will join. This is not at all unlikely. In the CCC camps, where educational programmes were organised on a voluntary basis and a majority of campers were *not* educated beyond the elementary stage, their response to them, as indicated earlier, was very impressive. These courses, lectures, discussions, seminars etc., should not, however, reproduce ordinary classroom conditions treating the students as children to be spoon-fed—modern educational theory does not favour spoon-feeding as a device even for young children!—but adopt more informal and elastic techniques of independent work and study. It will also be necessary to provide good libraries in the camps and encourage reading for pleasure. Great books as well as more popular books, dealing with current problems of interest—in Indian and English languages—

should be made available to them. It may be worthwhile to have paperback editions of such books brought out which may be supplied in large numbers to camp libraries. No fixed or rigid syllabus need be prescribed: it will be sufficient to indicate in broad outline the kind of programmes to be followed, leaving it to the teachers to draw up their own detailed schemes of work in consultation with the members of the camp and with due regard to their special needs. The broad outline will no doubt include such subjects as competence in language and general education and study of regional problems as well as important social, economic and cultural problems of the country. But the success of the idea will depend far more on *how* they are presented than on the actual contents. The emphasis should deliberately be *not* on the imparting or accumulation of information but on quickening interest, lighting torches in the mind and cultivating the capacity for independent work and study. It may well be enquired what possibility there is of anything like this being done in these camps when this cannot be done in schools and colleges with their total emphasis on education. I can give no fully satisfactory answer but there is one promising feature of the situation. The formal examination would not loom over the students in the camp and the motivating force would be interest, if it can be imaginatively mobilised. Such an approach can, therefore, be successful in this environment than within the formal set-up of regular educational institutions where examinations are always pleaded as a reason for doing nothing that is free or original or creative. This would, no doubt, be a challenging prospect for the educational staff, but if they can face it intelligently, they may even be able to make a significant contribution to the general educational system in the field of methodology as well as curriculum.

A question has been raised whether this break in studies—for nine months or less—will adversely affect students' work in the university and whether they will not 'forget' during this period what they have learnt in school. I do not think that it need be regarded as a serious danger. In the first place, their educational interests and studies will be continued to some extent during this period. Secondly, it is a fallacy to think that education means learning of a number of 'facts' about history or geography or science or mathematics and, if a student is not able to retain them in his memory, the results of his education will be lost or impaired. Education really consists in the training of the mind, the quickening of interests and the capacity for intelligent study and it is these things that help a student in his university career. As for factual information, many students, in any case, forget a great deal of it after passing their Secondary school examination which is usually followed by several months of vacation when they do little academic work or general reading. Moreover, experience with 'G.I.'s in America and the 'Veterans' in the U.K., who joined the universities after several years' interruption due to war service, has shown that the greater maturity and experience which they acquired in these years stood them in good stead as students.

The Question of Discipline

An important issue that has been debated in this connection, both in India and abroad, is: how can this Scheme make an impact on the *problem of discipline* which looms large on our minds at present? Two views have been expressed. Hand over the general supervision of discipline over the camps to the army which will be able to enforce habits of discipline

on the youth. The other view is that this is not primarily a problem of *military* discipline—it is essentially an educational problem which should be tackled on educational principles and the home, the school, the various other social agencies, together with the camps, should be associated in this campaign of re-education. There are no easy ways of changing patterns of human behaviour. The efficiency of military discipline, on a narrow view, is conceded but care is taken to point out the significant difference between the concept of military discipline which gives a certain super-imposed mechanical efficiency and smartness and that of educational discipline through which character and personality are built up. In Yugoslavia for instance, the organisation of large-scale youth drives is *not* dominated by the army. The entire organisation attempts to encourage freedom, self-discipline and self-government on the part of the youth. I see no reason why, in India, we should prefer military discipline to the discipline of work—an educational discipline built up through the magic of hard, regular, socially significant and productive work. If such work is done with interest and vigour, leading to a sense of achievement, a *tradition* of hard, conscientious work can be built up and the problem of discipline taken in the stride—discipline that will endure and not, like military discipline, tend to disappear as soon as external force or compulsion is removed. Regimentation, which often goes with large scale movements, is essentially an undesirable thing. Some persons are apt to imagine that, in view of the general indiscipline that prevails, the easy and correct way will be to put the youth through military drill and military discipline. There is no educational or psychological testimony to support this view. It may be an *easy* way; it is certainly not the *correct* way. It is important for all youth workers to realise that individual differences should not be stream-rolled but room should be found for their expression. In the modern age, there is an increasing tendency to replace inner-directed effort by compulsion or direction from outside. This tendency should be scrupulously resisted and freedom of individual development should not be sacrificed at any price.

Administrative Organisation

What is the type of organisation which is likely to be most suitable for administering a big Scheme like this? It seems to me obvious that since our emphasis and objectives are primarily educational, the sponsoring Ministry should be the Ministry of Education. But there are many other Ministries, Departments and voluntary organisations which are interested and involved in the Scheme and it is necessary to secure their cooperation. Along with other Ministries/Departments, we will have to secure the full cooperation of the Ministry of Defence for arranging the 'logistics' of the Scheme—provision of accommodation, equipment, transport, work clothes and looking after the necessary physical drill. But the general direction of the camps, the internal discipline, the community life, the educational and cultural programmes should remain broadly the responsibility of educationists and the education staff and the youth themselves through the autonomous boards as recommended below. In the U.S.A., where the army was given the over-all responsibility for organising the CCC on an emergency basis, many educationists and others, who assessed the scheme later, did not consider this to be the most appropriate arrangement. For this purpose, it will be necessary to establish an autonomous board or organisation, representative of all concerned interests, which will be responsible for the over-all direction of policy and administration. It would, however, be inadvisable to set up a very elaborate organisation as there is

always a danger that this may come in the way of quick decisions and slow down the tempo of work. As one experienced administrator of youth projects put it : "When there are too many intervening agencies or contraptions between power at one end and the expected products at the other, resistances are put up which make work difficult. It is the *idee fixe* which eventually generates enthusiasm and drives a scheme, not too many officers. It would, therefore, be preferable to have a comparatively lean over-head staff with the bulk of the available funds going into the actual projects."

It will be necessary to set up, under the Central Board, committees for planning and implementation at the State and district level and here care should be taken to include persons and agencies with a real stake and interest in the scheme who are likely to cooperate actively. There is no point in including too many officials or all kinds of non-official agencies who will be just decorative and not have the time or the interest to make any worthwhile contribution. Sometimes, such inclusion is favoured in the name of coordination. This is an attractive and much favoured work, but it can sometime be overdone with the result that in the round of consultations and search for concurrence the actual work does not make much headway. There are coordination meetings where, as a shrewd observer put it : "every one sits with arms folded across the chest to see that no one takes away his shirt!" The actual composition of these boards and committees will have to be worked out in due course in the light of the final decisions that may be taken about the size and scope of the Scheme.

As part of the organisational machinery, it is suggested that an advisory group of good educationists, youth organisers and social workers etc., should be constituted which will visit camps in different States, assess their personnel and methods of work, carry over creative ideas from centre to centre and help to build up good standards. This cannot be done merely by incorporating suggestions in the pamphlet of instructions. If we can thus keep living minds in touch with the movement, we may be able to avert the danger of the camps deteriorating into a kind of mechanical routine and losing their original inspiration and dynamism. It would also be useful to bring out some kind of a weekly or monthly journal which will keep all the campers in touch with the activities and experiments going on in camps in other parts of the country and any new and creative ideas being tried out in them. Similarly, occasional conferences and seminars of group leaders and other staff members will enable them to share their experiences with their colleagues and quicken their minds.

How are these camps to be housed? The Working Group has examined a suggestion that the school buildings may be used in the evenings for this purpose and it has wisely rejected it as entirely unfeasible. There is no getting away from the fact that reasonably comfortable accommodation—constructed on an austere basis, no doubt, but capable of meeting the rigours of the climate—will have to be provided. To begin with, many of the camps could be accommodated in tents if the weather is favourable. But the campers should later participate in building huts for their own use. This has been done not only in long duration work camps but even in short duration camps like those of the I.V.S.P. For the large-sized camps we may have to build up something like 'youth towns' with huts and barracks which may be the continuing centre of such activities over a reasonably large area, where successive groups of campers may work on different projects, travelling to and fro in transport provided for

them. Such an arrangement would prove both economical and convenient. The problem will of course be simpler and school houses and college buildings *could* be used in many places if the duration of the service is about three months and the work camps are mainly confined to the summer vacations. In that case, it may be worthwhile to examine whether there could be any adjustment in university calendars so that the difficulties of working in the hottest part of the year may be minimised.

Work Camps for Girls

I have not so far discussed specifically the question of what can be done to enrol girls in this movement and the special issues which this question may raise.

The report of the Committee as well as some other educational bodies have generally referred to the inclusion of both boys and girls. I am not, however, sure whether they have considered all the implications of the proposal in our present socio-economic setting. I am satisfied that any *compulsory* scheme of national service, applicable to all girls, is out of the question under present conditions. If they are to be drawn into it, it will have to be on a voluntary basis and separate and suitable types of camps will have to be organised for them. The general consensus of opinion in the country will not favour the idea of mixed camps on this large scale, nor will the parents be willing and/or able to send their daughters far away from home for a period of several months. Moreover, the type of work which they may be able to do in camp will have to be considered carefully with due regard to their own capacity and limitations and the needs of the community in which they are to work. This should not be interpreted to mean that I consider social work any whit less important for girls than for boys. On the contrary I am convinced that the idea of service comes more naturally to women—certainly to the Indian women—than to the men. But we must take realistic conditions into account and plan feasible types of service for them under an appropriate organizational pattern.

The "pre-orientation" to camp work, which I have stressed already, is of special importance in the case of girls. While still at school they should be given opportunities of doing suitable kinds of social work in their *mohallas* or villages. If they have carried on campaigns for sanitation and hygiene, have looked after centres for women and children, supervised games, assisted in hospitals and social welfare centres, taught women reading and writing and simple principles and practice of home making, they will be mentally and physically prepared to do this kind of work on a more systematic basis after completing their school education. Their parents too will have been educated to the idea and there will be less opposition on their part at a later stage. However, the frame-work of the Scheme in their case should be more flexible and greater options should be permitted. For instance, some of the girls may be prepared to live in camps, under conditions somewhat similar to the boys' camps, while others may only be willing to work in the close neighbourhood of their homes where day-camps may be set up, with all the necessary discipline and pattern of organized work, facilities being, however, provided for their going back home in the evenings. This may not be the best arrangement but, in social experiments of this kind, there is a danger that striving for perfection, in the first instance, may hinder rather than promote the movement and the 'best may prove to be the enemy of the good'. One would hope that gradually an increasing proportion of girls would be forthcoming

to live a regular camp life and enjoy its educational benefits. But, frankly, I doubt whether many parents would be willing to allow their daughters at that particular age to spend anything like six or nine months away from their homes in some distant part of the country. I am even more doubtful that a sufficient number of trained, qualified and experienced women leaders would be forthcoming to take charge of these camps and make a success of them. The approach of caution which has been recommended in the case of boys' camps and the need to try pilot projects apply more emphatically in the case of girls. Also, greater attention should be devoted to the selection of inspiring but feasible projects and the idea of integrating such work with community development projects and adoption of villages as centers of multipurpose service should be explored as fully as possible. We should remember that the primary object of this Scheme is the inculcation of the desire and the spirit of social service through giving some training and experience in rendering actual service to the community. For this purpose, varied approaches should be welcomed; for, there are many ways and many kinds of work through which the adolescent mind can be initiated into a lively apprehension of the true relationship between the individual and the community. Hard manual work is one of the ways of doing so but not the only way. While, in view of our special socio-economic conditions, it is of high importance that some element of manual work should form part of the programme for girls also, due attention should be given to other types of social service, keeping the ends clear and definite but the *means* flexible and capable of adjustment to the situation. There is no reason to think that such an approach will not, in due course of time, make a healthy impact on the mind of the girls.

Analysis and Assessment of Public Opinion

Thinking and discussion about the nature of this Scheme have passed through several phases amongst various educational bodies and authorities to which a brief reference may be made at this stage. The Radhakrishnan Commission had originally envisaged the idea of National Service by youth but it favoured voluntary approach. It regarded conscription applied to social service as "a contradiction in terms". In the First Five-Year Plan also, a voluntary approach, on a pilot project basis, was recommended in the first instance, which may eventually pave a way to compulsion. As a result of this proposal, labour and social service camps were started on voluntary basis. In 1958, the Prime Minister desired that the problem be examined with a view to formulating feasible proposals for introducing about a year of National Service on a compulsory basis for all students before they take their degree.

In 1959, the Conference of Education Ministers expressed the view that it was desirable to introduce the scheme but this should be done on a voluntary basis at first and, for the first few years, a number of limited pilot projects should be tried out. This was also the general trend of opinion amongst other educational bodies. However, the Deshmukh Committee which met later in 1959 expressed a radically different opinion and recommended *compulsion* for all boys and girls without any exemption—except for medical reasons—for a period of about nine months to a year. It called for the introduction of military training, discipline in camps and recommended four hours of manual work and social service every day. With a few dissentient voices, these proposals have been broadly approved by the Central Advisory Board of Education, the Inter-University Board

and the Vice-Chancellors' Conference. They, however, advised that careful and concrete proposals be formulated by a working group giving the detailed implications of the general proposals made in the Report. I think it would be fair presentation of their point of view to say that they were generally in favour of the Scheme as outlined, but were not quite sure how far it would be possible to put it into practice and, therefore, wanted to see its full and concrete implications, both administrative and financial. The Working Group, appointed in response to this request, has since submitted its report, broadly endorsing the pattern of the scheme and making some suggestions about details of implementation and reducing the estimates of expenditure considerably. The Working Group has realised the difficulties created by the size of the problem—about 2.75 lakhs of students in 1961-62 and about 4 lakhs in 1965-66! It has, therefore, suggested that, in the first stage, admission be confined to those who are likely to join the first year of degree course leaving out others who are not proceeding to the university—thus reducing the number to 2 lakhs in 1961 and 3 lakhs in 1966. Further staggering may be achieved by bringing students into the Scheme on an age-wise basis—students below 16½ years of age in the first year of its implementation, below 18 in the second year and up to 21 in the third year. This will, it is hoped, bring the numbers within manageable limits. The Group has also recommended military training, including weapon training for both boys and girls, and worked out detailed time allocations for manual work, military training and general education as well as details of the general education courses. The cost of the Scheme has been reduced from 50 crores per year to 138 crores in five years on the assumption that part of the expenditure in camps will be borne by the parents and part of it met out of the provision made for community projects and other schemes included in the Plan as returns for the labour put in by youth.

While there has been broad consensus of opinion on the part of the committees and the concerned educational bodies, public opinion as expressed in the Press—editorials, articles and letters—has been on the whole adverse and critical: I have analysed the press comments made during the course of the last year mainly on these occasions: on the publication of Deshmukh Committee report, at the Vice-Chancellors' conference held at Khadakvasla in June, 1960 and the publication of the Report of the Working Group appointed by the Ministry. Barring two or three papers which are generally favourable—but even they commend a 'cautious' or 'wary' approach—all the others—so far as I have been able to obtain the data—seem to be opposed to the Scheme in the form in which it has now emerged. The grounds for criticism are manifold. There is opposition to the idea of compulsion which is regarded as a 'totalitarian approach' as 'opposed to democratic values'. The Scheme is described as 'fanciful' and 'nebulous' and expecting to achieve too much, as if a nine-month labour service could accomplish all the aims which ten or twelve years' education should, and is not able to, do. It is again argued that the funds proposed to be spent on the Scheme could be more profitably diverted to improving education directly. It is doubted that the Scheme could make any genuine contribution to solving the problem of indiscipline and the application of techniques of military discipline for the aims in view is objected to on educational grounds. Stress is laid on the desirability of developing much more fully the various existing activities like scouting, N.C.C., summer camps and excursions. Some critics are afraid that the interruption of studies by one year will be 'disastrous' and tend to lower standards, that it will not ease

the unemployment problem at all, that the parents will object to the virtual lengthening of education by one year. It is argued that the process of orientation of the students should begin much earlier than about the age of 15 or 16, because by that time, attitudes and ideas have been formed and it is then too late to change them successfully. Doubts have also been expressed about any "tangible" or lasting benefits being obtained through the work done by students, and instances have been cited of the waste involved in some of the labour and social service camps. It is also questioned whether such an experience is at all relevant to what is described as the "frontier situation", because this kind of half-baked military training can be of little use in modern warfare. If military training is to be given it should be serious and systematic. The inclusion of girls on a compulsory basis is considered as entirely impracticable. It is also apprehended that the estimates of expenditure, as worked out, is not realistic and the venture is likely to cost more and that any attempt to throw part of the cost on the parents is likely to be resented.

It is not necessary for me to comment on all the points raised, as some of them have been discussed already either in connection with the experience in foreign countries or our own situation. I would, therefore, content myself with making a few observations on some issues of importance which need to be taken into serious considerations. As already indicated, it is necessary to carry public opinion with us in such a movement and, therefore, I have stressed the advisability of fair publicity and propaganda about the Scheme. In the formation of public opinion the press obviously plays an important part and its criticism should be taken seriously.

I have already noted my agreement with some of the views that the press have expressed, *e.g.*, that the Scheme should first be tried on a voluntary basis, that the military approach to the problem of indiscipline is adequately solved through such work camps alone but needs a larger *educational* approach starting at a much earlier age. I also agree with the view that such training cannot make much of a contribution to the problem of security for which other more directly relevant measures will have to be adopted. Its incidence on the problem of unemployment as such will also be marginal rather than substantial.

There are certain other lines of criticism with which I do not agree. For reasons that have been discussed in the body of the Report, both with reference to the situation in and outside India, the educational value of such a scheme, which is neither 'nebulous' nor 'fanciful' is unquestionable. A programme of cooperative and socially productive manual work, which also includes suitable academic, physical and cultural ingredients, provides a type of experience which is personally rewarding and socially valuable. Obviously any scheme which is not tried with due care and caution can defeat its objectives. But, tried in the form and under the conditions that have been enumerated, there is nothing inherent in the Scheme to which educationists need take objection. Again, it is true that the whole of the educational process needs modification and reorientation—which is actually going on although it may not be perceptible to every one—but this Scheme, if wisely implemented, will supplement this process powerfully and make good some of the lacunae. It is not correct to say that, if the amount proposed to be spent on the Scheme is directly utilized for improving education, it will make a much greater impact. In order to improve salaries, school buildings, and equipment in schools and colleges etc., a far larger expenditure of

resources will be necessary and even then some of the objectives of the Scheme—physical hardening, working cooperatively on projects of social and material significance, intimacy of contact with human and physical realities etc.—will not be achieved. It is also a somewhat ill-founded fear that the interruption of formal studies by a few months or even one year may be 'academically disastrous'. If the educational programme is well planned and opportunities are provided for developing cultural interests, students may gain more *in a basically educational sense* than they will 'lose' in a *formal* sense. Also the apprehension or the rather glib assumption that youth cannot do any substantial and socially and productively significant work is untenable. If there is one thing, which experience under a variety of conditions and in different parts of the world brings out emphatically, it is that, given the right atmosphere and leadership, youths can achieve what the sceptical world could regard as 'miracles'! The CCC experience in America, the Yugoslav youth work drives—both spread over a period of about 10 years—the I.V.S.P. camps in many countries (including India) and short duration camps in almost all the countries visited by me provide a heartening testimony in favour of this view. To dismiss these achievements, because, for instance, some organisations' camps were not planned well and did not complete their projects successfully, is to confuse ineffective implementation with wrong planning.

PART IV

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The idea of introducing a National Service Scheme in India has *high educational justification and possibilities*. It has been welcomed not only by many educational authorities and educationists in India but also by most of the concerned educationists and others with whom it was discussed in ten other countries. There is general agreement that this type of experience can be very valuable for youth at the stage at which it is proposed to provide it, *i.e.*, after the completion of the Secondary education.

2. The proposal to introduce it on a *compulsory and universal basis* for boys and girls for a continuous period of about nine months *is not likely to prove practicable at present*. There is one school of thought which objects to compulsion on principle, as being irreconcilable with the idea of service, the urge for which should spring from within. But a much larger school of thought, in all the countries visited by me, is opposed to it because it doubts the feasibility and wisdom of adopting the programme on a universal basis. The conditions necessary to ensure its successful implementation—education of public opinion, training of requisite leadership, provision of material equipment and resources, formulation of the right programmes etc.—can only be fulfilled in due course of time. While I do not see much force in the 'conscientious' objection—after all, nations have used compulsion unhesitatingly for military service and have also applied it in such fields as Primary education for children and in enforcing certain health measures, to check spread of disease—I am of the view that we shall be courting a grave risk of failure if the quality of the experiment is allowed to become diluted by the desire for producing quick or superficially spectacular results.

3. I would, therefore, recommend the *adoption of a voluntary approach* and the working out of a number of pilot projects on the basis of which carefully evaluated experience may be gained, to be utilised in the gradual expansion of the Scheme. These projects can be experimental in a variety of ways as indicated in the Report—in size, duration, types of work, staffing etc.

4. If, at a later stage, it is decided to introduce the idea of compulsion, the approach should be to *make all youth, within the prescribed age-group, liable to such service* but select the actual persons to be called, on the basis of drawing lots or some other suitable procedure which would be accepted as equitable by all concerned. The actual proportion of youth to be called should depend on the availability of the requisite personnel and other resources.

5. The question of *duration* should, in the first instance, be envisaged on a *flexible basis, i.e.*, youth may be given the option to come to the work camps either for a three-month period or for a continuous period of eight or nine months or for this period being spread over two to three vacations. While it should be voluntary for any youth to enrol himself in the camp, once he has done so he should be required to put in at least a period of about 12 weeks.

6. Camps should be *open to students as well as non-students*, within the prescribed age-group, who have passed the Secondary school examination. A certain proportion of non-students may also be made eligible to join.

7. In order to provide a favourable atmosphere for the success of the Scheme, it *should be launched in an imaginative manner* so that, in the minds of the public as well as the students, it would be invested with a high sense of prestige and social and official recognition. For this purpose full and wise use should be made of the media of mass communication,—radio, films, newspapers, and the public platform. Speeches and broadcasts by the President, Prime Minister and other public leaders who have a high standing with the youth can be very useful. A few of these speeches and statements could be recorded on tapes and gramophone disc, and played in educational institutions and camps.

8. To ensure that the campers will be psychologically and emotionally well prepared for the work to be done, *organisation of short-term camps of labour and social service* should be encouraged while they are still at school. They may be of the same general pattern as the present camps, organised through educational institutions and voluntary agencies, but their programme should be more realistic, with greater *emphasis on the completion of worthwhile projects* of obvious value. Experience of I.V.S.P. and other types of short camps has shown that a good deal of educative, socially useful, challenging and enjoyable work can be done in such camps.

9. It would be useful to *create a certain sense of continuity* in the minds of youth about the idea of the scheme by enrolling them on a large scale in the National Service Scheme, while they are still at school so that, as they participate in short duration camps during the school career, they may know that they are expected, in due course, to render a longer period of service in regular work camps. This idea of continuity could be maintained at the university stage also by taking up appropriate types of social service projects, e.g., "adoption of villages" by groups of university students.

10. As a further measure for ensuring the success of the work camps, it would be useful to *organise short 'vestibule camps'* of not less than two weeks where new entrants will be 'oriented' towards the discipline, the routines, the rules and the work to be done later in the larger camps. Persons who have sympathy with, and understanding of, the problems of youth should receive them and be responsible not only for their proper and tactful initiation into the work but also to allot them to suitable camps and assign them the right jobs.

11. The highest emphasis should be placed on the *training of the right kind of leaders*, who may be drawn partly from educational institutions and partly from social workers, community project staff and other likely sources. In due course of time, however, they should be increasingly drawn from the youth who have passed through short and long duration camps, have shown special interest in such work and have acquired successful experience of leadership through actual participation. As this work expands and an increasing number of youth leaders is required, it will be necessary to *institute a cadre of service* for them which will attract persons of good quality and enable them to make a reasonable career for themselves in this type of work.

12. The *over-all direction of the policy and programmes* should be in the hands of educationists—persons with understanding of educational issues, not necessarily professional teachers—who may be assisted by technically qualified and competent persons to supervise the project work and enable the campers not only to complete their work assignments but also to acquire useful technical skill and knowledge relating to the project. Army personnel should be utilised for looking after the 'logistics' of the Scheme and for providing such physical training as may be considered necessary. Care should be taken to see that the camps are not 'militarised' as had happened in some other countries with undesirable consequences.

13. In order to make the work camp *programmes* truly educative and appealing to youth, they should be *made varied and broad-based* so that, in addition to giving the educative experience of socially productive work and service, they will cater to their other academic and cultural interests also. For this purpose, there should be a carefully designed educational programme—particularly in the camps of longer duration—and social and cultural activities and hobbies of different kinds should be engaged in the afternoons and evenings. This work should be done on a voluntary basis and should draw youth by its intrinsic appeal and attraction.

14. The possibility of *starting a variety of short-term technical courses* for the campers on a voluntary basis, somewhat on the lines of the CCC and the Yugoslavia work camps should be explored so that they may discover their practical aptitudes and incidentally learn skills likely to be useful to them in later life. Some of them may, as a result of this experience, be diverted into suitable technical and vocational channels.

15. There are certain special advantages associated with large-sized camps and others which are more likely to follow camps with smaller numbers. In the over-all plan, *provision should be made for both types of camps* and even the large sized camps should be divided into smaller units to encourage more personal contacts and provide opportunities for democratic leadership and community living.

16. The selection of the *right kind of projects* is crucial to the success of the Scheme. These should be real, exacting, of perceptible social use and make a genuine appeal and challenge to youth. They should be formulated in cooperation with project supervisors and educationists and, in some suitable form, youth organizations should be associated with their planning. Some of the schemes may form part of the Five-Year Plan and others may be specially designed with due regard to the psychology and aptitudes of youth.

17. The question of what would be the most *suitable organisational pattern* for the Scheme will require careful consideration. Broadly speaking, it will be necessary to have an autonomous board or council on which universities, student organisations and persons drawn from actively concerned Ministries/Departments may be represented. In addition, a few educationists and public men of standing who will inspire general confidence, should be associated with the Central body. At the State level—and possibly at the district level also—it would be necessary to have similar councils for detailed planning and organization. Care will have to be taken to see that unimaginative rules and regulations and financial bottlenecks do not scotch the Scheme.

18. To keep the movement lively and creative, opportunities should be provided to *encourage exchange of ideas and experiences* amongst workers at various levels and for the camps being occasionally visited by advisory committees of educationists and others who will not only assess the work but carry over promising ideas and experiments from one part of the country to another and thus guard against the possibility of the movement becoming mechanised.

PART V

APPENDIX I

ITINERARY

July 1960

3	Dep.	New Delhi
4	Arr.	Paris

(Visits to Air France Colony de vacance, Marly le roi)

12	Dep.	Paris
12	Arr.	Belgrade

(Visits to Nis, Dubrovnic, Zagreb)

22	Dep.	Belgrade
22	Arr.	Bonn

(Visits to Berlin, Hamburg, Bad-Homburg, Koppeln)

29	Dep.	Bonn
29	Arr.	Copenhagen

(Visits to Elsinore, Helsingr, Krogerup)

August 1960

4	Dep.	Copenhagen
4	Arr.	Stockholm

(Visit to Harpsund, Bommersvik)

11	Dep.	Stockholm
11	Arr.	Oslo
16	Dep.	Oslo
16	Arr.	London

(Visits to Otterbourne Grange, Arlesford Place)

26	Dep.	London
27	Arr.	New York

(Visits to Washington, Antioch, Berea, Montgomery, Chicago, Madison)

October 1960

6	Dep.	New York
10	Arr.	San Francisco
11	Dep.	San Francisco
12	Arr.	Honolulu
13	Dep.	Honolulu
14	Arr.	Tokyo

(Visits to Gotemba, Schuzerki, Kyoto, Osaka, Nara)

25	Dep.	Tokyo
25	Arr.	Manila

(Visits to Polo, Manalos and institutions in Bulacan Province)

November 1960

8	Dep.	Manila
9	Arr.	Delhi

APPENDIX II

PERSONS INTERVIEWED

France

1. Monsieur Gillette, Bureau of Reception, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
2. Monsieur Leherpeux, Director, National Pedagogical Institute
3. Monsieur Rollier, Chief of the Bureau of Youth Activities
4. Monsieur Brichat, Deputy Director of Popular Education and Youth Education
5. Monsieur Pailler, Technical Counsellor to High Commission for Youth Sports
6. Monsieur Vincent Labouret, Chief of the Cabinet, Ministry of National Education
7. Monsieur Herzog, High Commissioner for Youth and Sports
8. Monsieur Masson

Yugoslavia

1. Mr. Matic, Secretary to the National Commission for Unesco, Ministry of Culture, Belgrade
2. Mr. R. Jemovic, Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Education, Belgrade
3. Mrs. Zojica Levi, Chief Documentation Division, Yugoslavia Institute of Educational Research, Belgrade, and colleagues
4. Mrs. Latinka Perovic, Central Committee of People's Youth, Belgrade
5. Mrs. Divna Markovic, Directress, Council of Children and Youth Welfare, Belgrade
6. Mr. Filip, General Secretary, Society of People's Technic, Belgrade
7. Glavin Stat Omladinski Brigade, Secretariat of the Youth Brigade, Nis
8. Mr. Medovovic, Belgrade
9. Mrs. Magasic Amica, President, Council of Science and Culture, Zagreb
10. Mr. Yelic Vogin, Secretary, Council of Science and Culture, Zagreb
11. Mr. Mustafa Heremic, Director, Students' Centre, Zagreb

Germany

1. Ministerialdirektor Dr. Duckwitz, Head of the East Division, Foreign Office, Bonn
 2. Legationsrat Dr. Friese, Foreign Office, Bonn
 3. Vortragender Legationsrat I. Kl. Dr. Hilgard, Officiating Head of the Cultural Division, Foreign Office, Bonn
 4. Fraulein Dr. Knab Deutscher Ausschuss fuer Erziehungs & Bildungswesen, Bonn, and colleagues
 5. Dr. Eichler, Member of the Executive Committee, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Bonn
 6. Mr. G. Kruckeberg, Internationaler Gemeinschaftsdienst, Gottingen
 7. Dr. Schroers, Kulturrat, Stadthaus, Bonn
 8. Dr. Oyen, Schulrat, Stadthaus, Bonn
 9. Dr. F. Hilker, Paedagogischer Auskunftsdienst, Standige Konferenz der Kulturminister, Bonn
 10. His Excellency Dr. F. J. Wuermeling, Bundesminister fuer Familien and Jugendfragen, Bonn
 11. Fraulein A. Kaltenbach, Beschswesen, Foreign Office, Bonn
 12. Dr. K. Pfauter, Cultural Counsellor, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn
 13. Mr. Reinhold, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Bonn
 14. Mr. Heidemann, Heimvelksschule der Friedrich Elbert Stiftung, Berg-Newstadt
- L4Edu./61—7.

15. Regierungsrat Dr. Gehring, Bundesministerium fuer Familien und Jugendfragen, Bonn
16. Dr. H. P. Mehl, Arbeitsgemeinschaft Jugendaufbauwerk, Bonn-Venusberg
17. Direktor Dr. P. Franken, Bundeszentrale fuer Heimatdienst, Bonn
18. His Magnificence Prof. Dr. H. Jahrreiss, President, Vice-Chancellors Conference, Bad Godesberg
19. Ministerialdirektor Duckwitz
20. Ministerialdirektor Johannes Duntze, Ministry of Interior

Denmark

1. Mr. E. Drotsby, Deputy Head of the Section, Ministry of Education, Copenhagen
2. Mr. Vibeke Helwig Larsson
3. Dr. Roar Skovmand, State Consultant for Folk High Schools, Ministry of Education
4. Dr. Bent Pihl, Secretary, Danish Popular Education Council
5. Mr. Jens Rosenkjar, Adviser to the Ministry of Education
6. Mr. Helvig Petersen, State Adviser for Elementary Education and Teachers' Training, Ministry of Education
7. Mr. Vagn Fenger, Principal, International People's College, Elsinore
8. Mrs. Larsson, Secretary, Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke

Sweden

1. Mr. Olaf Palme M.P., Secretary to His Excellency the Prime Minister
2. Mr. Erik Bjelfvenstam, Director of Studies, Swedish Army Staff
3. Mr. Soen-Arne Stahre, Director of the Swedish Workers Educational Association
4. Mr. Joachim Wesseloh, Chairman of the Swedish Committee of International Work Teams
5. Mr. Nils Gustav Rosin, Director General, Royal Board of Education
6. Mr. Wolfgang Sonntag, Harpsund
7. Col. Skoog, Chief of Organisation for Voluntary Training of Officers and N.C.O's
8. Mr. Rune Widgier, Stockholm
9. Mr. Graby, Hans Lenner Lend, Stockholm
10. Madame Alva Myrdal, Stockholm
11. Miss Irene Larsson, Swedish Institute
12. Mr. S. Staringren, Stockholm

Norway

1. Mr. Olav Nyhammar, Royal Ministry of Church and Education
2. Dr. Lies Wilhelmen, Royal Ministry of Church and Education
3. Mr. Erling Slaatto, Royal Ministry of Church and Education
4. Mr. A. Morgan Olsen, State Office for Sports and Youth Work, Royal Ministry of Church and Education, Oslo
5. Mr. Rolf, Hoffmo, State Office for Sports and Youth Work, Royal Ministry of Church and Education, Oslo
6. Mr. Sjoerseth, State Office for Sports and Youth Work, Royal Ministry of Church and Education, Oslo
7. Mr. Olav Sundet, Chairman, Council of Secondary Education, Oslo
8. Mr. Erling Osterrud, Principal, Romerike Folk High School, Romerike (Norway)

The United Kingdom

1. Mr. J. O. Roach, External Relations, Ministry of Education, London
2. Mr. C. J. M. Allport, Minister of State
3. Mr. C. A. F. Dundas, British Council, London
4. Miss Mary Field, Consultant, Children's Television Programmes

5. Mr. R. N. Heaton, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Education
6. Mr. Derek Holroyd of B.C.C., London
7. Mr. V. C. Martin, Commonwealth Relations Office
8. Mr. Peter Smithers, M.P.
9. Mr. M. Dodderidge, British Council
10. Friends Work Camps Committee
11. Mr. F. A. Judd, General Secretary, International Voluntary Service
12. Mr. Dower, the Civic Trust, London
13. Miss Watts, Assistant Secretary, Standing Committee on Voluntary Organization
14. Mr. Alec Dickson, Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Studies Committee, Royal Commonwealth Society, London
15. Brigadier E. F. E. Armstrong, Organiser of the Conservation Corps Council for Nature, London
16. Mr. Robin Howard, Honorary Organiser, International Service Department, United Nations Association, London
17. Colonel V. A. J. Heald, Assistant Secretary, Duke of Edinburgh's Award, London
18. Dame Mary Smieton, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education, London

The United States of America

1. Dr. Ralph Field, Associate Dean, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York
2. Dr. Thud Hungate, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York
3. Dr. F. Butts, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York
4. Dr. Burns Chalmers, Davis House, Washington D.C.
5. Mr. Aubrey William, Executive Secretary, National Education Association, Washington D.C.
6. Dr. Wilson Carr, Executive Secretary, National Education Association, Washington D.C.
7. Dr. Hutchings, President, Berea College, Berea (Kentucky)
8. Dean Louis Smith, Berea College
9. Members of the Faculty of Berea College
10. Dr. Charles E. Trout, Department of Public Services, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee (Alabama)
11. Members of the Faculty of the Tuskegee Institute
12. Indian students and staff at Tuskegee Institute
13. Dr. L. H. Foster, President, Tuskegee Institute
14. Dr. Bodenman, Training Programme Officer, U.S. Office of Education, Washington D.C.
15. Dr. R. W. Ruffener, Technical Cooperation Mission, Washington D.C.
16. Mr. Christenson, Superintendent, Columbia District Recreation Board, Washington D.C.
17. Mr. John Sieker, Department of Agriculture, 4241 South Building, Washington D.C.
18. Mr. Howard Jaffery, Director, Camping Association, Washington D.C.
19. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, 55 East, 74th Street, New York
20. Mrs. Lush, Journalist and Social Worker
21. Dr. A. E. Morgan, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio
22. Mr. Ernest Morgan, Yellow Springs
23. Dr. Kenneth Thompson, Berea College, Berea, Kentucky
24. Mr. Kenneth Holland, President, Institute of International Education, New York
25. Mr. Jack Flynn, Legislative Assistant to Senator Humphrey, Washington
26. Miss Kline, President, National Education Association, Washington
27. Dr. Arthur S. Adams, American Council on Education, Washington
28. Mr. John Sieker, Forest Department, Washington

29. Dr. Parody, Dr. J. Dan Hull, Dr. W. P. Beard, Washington
30. Dr. C. S. Liddle, Wisconsin University, Madison
31. Dean Wendt, College of Technology, Madison
32. Dr. F. Harrington, Vice-President in charge Academic Affairs, Wisconsin University, Madison
33. Dr. Ria Baldwin, Special Assistant to President
34. Dr. Clinard, Wisconsin University, Madison
35. Dr. Bill Sewell, Chairman, Rural Sociology Department, Wisconsin University, Madison
36. Dr. Vallemonte, Engineering College, Wisconsin University, Madison
37. Dean Lindsay Stiles, School of Education, Wisconsin University, Madison
38. Professor Henry B. Hill, Wisconsin University, Madison
39. Dr. Murray Fowler, Wisconsin University, Madison
40. Dr. Edward Young, Wisconsin University, Madison
41. Mr. George Watson, Wisconsin University, Madison
42. Mr. Phillip Falk, Superintendent of City Schools, Wisconsin
43. Mr. Daniels, Wisconsin, Madison
44. Dr. Harold Spears, Superintendent of School, San Francisco
45. Mrs. Perin, Voluntary Work Bureau, San Francisco
46. Dr. Glick, Head of Sociology Department, University of Hawai
47. Dr. Gordon Mackenzie, Teachers' College, Columbia University.
48. Dr. Karl Bigelow, Teachers' College, Columbia
49. Dr. Marcilla Lawler, Teachers' College, Columbia
50. Dr. Foshey, Teachers' College, Columbia
51. Commission Mark A. McCloskey, Chairman, State Youth Commission, New York
52. Dr. Champion Ward, Ford Foundation, New York
53. Dr. Phil Coombe, Ford Foundation, New York
54. Dr. Cullen, Ford Foundation, New York
55. Dr. George Gaut, Ford Foundation, New York
56. Dr. A. Studebaker, former Commissioner of Education, New York
57. Dr. Chadbourne Gelpa and other officers of the Rockefeller Foundation, New York
58. Mr. Steward G. Anderson, Bureau of International Education and Cultural Affairs, Washington
59. Dr. Martin Mayes, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington
60. Dr. Edward Brice, Office of Education, Washington
61. Dr. Miss Nakhoda, Specialist in Child Welfare, Washington
62. Dr. McNeely, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington

Japan

1. Dr. Toshie Yamamoto, Keio University, Tokyo
2. Prof. Yusuke Sumiki, Dean, Faculty of Agriculture, University of Tokyo, Tokyo
3. Mr. Tadashi Saito, Director, Social Education Bureau, Ministry of Education, Tokyo
4. Mr. Masateru Takahashi, Supervisor, Social Education Bureau, Ministry of Education, Tokyo
5. Mr. Shuji Shigehara, Cultural Affairs Section, Public Information and Cultural Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo
6. Mr. Akira Nagasaka, Cultural Affairs Section, Public Information and Cultural Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo
7. Mr. E. Suzuki, Cultural Affairs Section, Public Information and Cultural Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo
8. Mr. Masaji Ikeda, Chief, Activity Section, National Youth Centre, Ministry of Education, Gotemba City

9. Mr. Jiro Ishikawa, Chief General Affairs Section, National Youth Centre, Ministry of Education, Gotemba City
10. Mr. Shigeharu Matsumoto, Director, International House of Japan, Tokyo
11. Mr. Takashi Hashimoto, Chairman, Executive Committee of the Conference of Educationists at Keio University, Tokyo
12. Dr. Hiroshi Miyasaki, Secretary, Institute of Democratic Education, Tokyo
13. Prof. Sumie Koyabashi, Chairman, New Education Fellowship, Tokyo
14. Mr. K. Fukami, Director, Central Council of Juvenile Problems, Prime Minister's Office, Tokyo
15. Mr. K. Kawakami, Chief, Liaison Section, Central Council on Juvenile Problems, Prime Minister's Office, Tokyo

The Philippines

1. Hon'ble Jose E. Romero, Secretary of Education
2. Hon'ble Jose Y. Tuazon, Under Secretary of Education
3. Dr. Jesus E. Perpinan, Director of Private Schools
4. Mr. Thomas De Castro, Superintendent of Schools, Bulacan
5. Mr. Saturnino Respicio, Board of National Education, Department of Education
6. Attorney Pompeyo Gregorio, Department of Education
7. Dr. Benigno Aldana, Director of Public Schools
8. Dr. Vitalino Bernardino, Assistant Director of Public Schools
9. Dr. Pedro G. Guiang, Assistant Director, Department of Education
10. Mr. Jose T. Cortes, Acting Chief, Instruction Division, Bureau of Public Schools
11. Dr. Miguel Gaffud, Chief, Division of Adult and Community Education, Bureau of Public Schools, Manila
12. Dr. Dalmacio Martin, Chief, Curriculum Division, Bureau of Public Schools, Manila
13. Mr. Isabelo Manalo, Chief Research and Evaluation Division, Bureau of Public Schools, Manila
14. Mr. Tomas Maglaya, Superintendent of Secondary Education, Bureau of Public Schools, Manila
15. Mr. Hilario Santos, Chief, Trade Education Division, Bureau of Public Schools, Manila
16. Dr. Renato Pascual, Special Assistant to the Director, Bureau of Private Schools, Manila
17. Mrs. Consuelo Herrera, Secretary, National Coordinating Council of Youth Welfare, Manila
18. Mr. Epifanio Madali, Department of Education, Manila
19. Mr. Pedro A. Ventura, Department of Education, Manila
20. Mr. Rusticio Navarro, Department of Education, Manila
21. Miss S. Gomez, Principal, Lagarda School, Manila
22. The Directress, St. Pascual Institute, Obando (Bulacan)
23. Dr. R. G. Manalaysay, President, Philippine Union College, Baisa
24. Mr. Benjamin Licup, Vocational Education Officer, Department of Education
25. Dr. Domingo Bascara, Secretary, YMCA, Manila
26. Dean Conrado Benitez, Philippine Women's University, Manila

APPENDIX III

A. The German Federal Youth Council

Shortly after the First World War a national committee of youth movements was formed in Germany. Some 100 different movements worked together in this committee. But all the non-fascist movements were dissolved after 1933 under the National Socialist dictatorship. Many of them started to work again after the Second World War, but often in a rather different form and with different aims from the previous ones. Well before the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany, youth committees and commissions sprang up in the various counties and regions of the country, grouping the different youth movements. All the movements in the Federal Republic came together in the German Bundesjugendring. The fact that they all had suffered from the opposition in the Nazi dictatorship and the misery—particularly great among youth—of the post-war years, gave birth to a strong desire for cooperation among young people.

The Bundesjugendring's main task was thus to promote and facilitate this cooperation and mutual understanding, and, on this basis, to represent common interests of the youth movements and of young people in general.

In its short life the Germany Bundesjugendring has initiated and carried out a wide variety of activities. It has played the role of "expert" whenever new legislation concerning youth has been discussed, and has made a number of suggestions. It has frequently taken position regarding social problems affecting youth and has helped to solve them. With regard to political questions involving youth it has, whenever possible, put forward the common point of view of the youth movements. It has played a part in all the decisions of the Federal Republic relating to youth welfare, and in particular in the working out of the "Bundesjugendplan" (Government Plan for Aid to Youth). The Bundesjugendring maintains close relations with all the youth-serving agencies and constantly draws the attention of the press and the radio to youth problems.

B. International Youth Service Camps in West Germany

The following is a short introduction to the association, to the work done and to the way in which the camps are run.

For 11 years the 'IIGD' have organised international work camps in Western Germany and Western Berlin. It is a politically unbiased, interdenominational and private organisation which is subsidized by the Western German Government. The association is a member of the Coordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps which has its seat at the Unesco headquarter in Paris.

The work to be done in the camp is for communal benefit. Some examples are : helping to construct youth homes, sport grounds, kindergartens, forestry work. A big part is the social work, for instance, giving help in refugee camps, hospitals, taking care of children in holiday camps, etc. Work is an important part of the camp and it is absolutely necessary that all volunteers do their best in fulfilling a common task. The working time is 36 hours per week.

The camps run for 3 weeks, some last a fortnight. Each camp has about 15-20 volunteers of which 30-50% come from abroad.

Boys and girls aged 16-25 years are welcomed. The average is 17-18 years. They are mainly university and school students, but also apprentices and of various professions.

All volunteers are expected to fit in with the community for the time of the camp. They can help to make leisure time interesting by giving reports of the social, political or economic problems of the countries they come from.

It is also possible to make arrangements for discussions of international problems, sight-seeing trips in the surroundings of camps, playing and singing in evenings.

In each camp there are two experienced volunteers who see to it that everyone helps in the camp administration and fulfils the task for which he has assumed responsibility.

Lodging mainly is in youth houses or schools. Sometimes it is necessary to accommodate the volunteers in tents. The food is sufficient. Meals are usually prepared by the kitchen of the places of accommodation. There are also camps where the volunteers prepare the food themselves.



APPENDIX IV

A SCHOOL-STUDENTS CAMP IN THE U. S. A.

These 314-acre farm and woods are far removed from the outside world. Our 20 campers and three staff members are distributed among our 16' x 16' tents. When we arrived on June 27, 1960, only two tents and a part of the 16' x 64' main building were up. The campers helped put up the rest of the tents; soon after they straggled into camp on July 1st. We were without power lines, running water, heat—Ohio is cool at night—and even a TV set. The work camp, separated by a 1½ mile clay tractor path from the main highway seemed even more isolated when a heavy rainstorm made twin-tracked rivulets of our road just a day after we arrived.

The first phase of our work camp was largely devoted to making our own quarters habitable. In two weeks, outside contractors had completed the main building, dug and connected a 7-gallon-per-minute well, installed a shower house, and housed our outside latrines. The campers dug ditches to shelter the pipes, built shelves and other furnishings for the tents and living area, cleared paths and tent areas, moved truckloads of furnishings and supplies from camp's headquarters, cleared trees for power lines and cabin sites, and made leaping bonfires of collected brush.

These first two weeks supported our hunch that we have here one of the most talented and exciting high school groups ever assembled. The 22 teen-agers cut across racial, religious, class, national and cultural boundaries. Two German exchange students are finishing a year of study in this country as a part of the A.F.S.C.'s School Affiliation Programme. Another student has come from Haiti especially for this experience. Two campers come from California, three from Georgia, one from Seattle, several from the New York area, one from near Boston, another from Providence, and so on. Their discussions range from comparative religion to conscientious objection, from baseball to fishing, from literature to love. They come for a variety of reasons, but all expected to work and to rough it. They have not been let down on either score.

The camp we are building resembles in many ways a "Fresh-Air" camp. In addition to fresh air, the camp will provide a two-week contact with nature for boys and girls from the congested, poorer sections of Cincinnati. Started by church people and a neighbourhood house, the camp is now operated by a non-profit board.

We are constructing eight cabins and a lodge so that Camp Joy, now a Cincy day camp, can operate as an over-night camp next summer. If we succeed before August 19, Ohio can claim a new Wonder of the World! None of us has ever built cabins before; we are working largely according to the architect's drawings. The genius of some of our campers has come to the fore. When the Company brought in telephone poles and power cables, a licensed electrician showed thereof our boys how to wire the building—and they did. We have built 10' x 10' frames in which to pour a phalanx of foundation pillars on which the 16' x 32' cabins will jut from a hill. The lumber, sawed by lumbermen from cottonwood and walnut trees here, is lugged by boys and girls alike. Several have learned how to drive a nail into wood without once missing. As a result, two cabins are nearing completion and five have their foundations ready. To accelerate our progress, we have agreed to go on JIST—Joy Instant Savings Time. We get up at 6.00 o'clock now, though our watches say 7.00 o'clock, and take advantage of the cool morning hours for work.

Our week-ends have given the chance to attend a county fair, firemen's "ice cream social", and all types of churches; to swim in nearby Lake Cowan; to visit a Catholic school-community for girls. This week we will see Antioch and Berea.

APPENDIX V

A. Youth Conservation Corps (USA)

(By Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY)

(Taken from the Congressional Record of March 16, 1960)

On August 13, 1959, the forces of Conservation in America squeaked through a surprise victory in the Senate, with the passage (47 to 45) of S. 812, a bill creating a Youth Conservation Corps to consist eventually of 150,000 young men, trained to attack the major problems of resource conservation which have plagued our nation since the onset of World War II.

It was a victory in which conservation shared the glory with educators, judges, and youth authorities—sickened by the constant substitution of brave words for any meaningful action to deal with the growing problem of juvenile delinquency.

It was a victory, but the Youth Conservation Corps is not yet a reality.

The outdoorsmen of America have better cause than most of their fellow-Americans to remember the Civilian Conservation Corps. They know that before the old CCC was thrown into the breach in 1933, only the most token efforts had been made to carry out the dreams of Gifford Pinchot and Teddy Roosevelt and their friends who succeeded in setting aside great tracts of the public lands for the benefit of future generations. The hunter and the fisherman, the family camper, the wilderness rider, the just plain nature-lover, each of these Americans every year can afford to say a word of thanks for those three million raw young men who were sent into the woods during the 1930's with no plans, no training, no preparation—just willing brain and muscle during a time when society seemed unable to offer men jobs in industry. The cleared camping area, the second-growth grove of trees, the stabilised streambank, the wilderness trail, the up-stream reservoir, the handsome retaining wall, the still-sturdy but now rundown recreational facilities in the national forests and parks constitute a gift from one generation of boys to the next—and from one enlightened group of leaders to the sportsmen and outdoor-lovers of the next 500 years.

In nine years the CCC boys—averaging more than 300,000 of them a year scattered throughout the country—built into our public land holdings almost incalculable values, in terms of timber and water and soil and recreational opportunities.

There were many harsh words said about some of the bold experiments of the New Deal, but there was virtually unanimous agreement that the CCC was a resounding success.

What happened to the CCC? It was one of the first casualties of World War II. The boys who had been volunteering for the Corps by the tens of thousands suddenly were swept up by an even more urgent call to arms. The manpower—or boypower—of the CCC just went to war.

We hit a tremendous production stride. And to the surprise and consternation of all the population experts, we also began to produce what now looks like a virtual population explosion.

Conservationists soon began to have had dreams about the available soil and water and timber resources for this mushrooming population, and the pressure on the outdoor recreational areas of the country began to get out of hand. In the national forests alone, there were 68.5 million visitors last year. By 1969 there will be 130 million.

And while conservationists were worrying about the population pressure on our natural resources, a second and even uglier problem was developing in American cities.

From the files of police authorities and juvenile court judges an ugly and disturbing story has been brought to light—of boys dropping out of school and finding no jobs, of gang-formation and violence, of arrests and convictions on a scale so unprecedented that the FBI Director has felt himself compelled to call it to public attention. The Navy reports that one out of four of its recruits has a record of arrest for a non-traffic violation of the law. Police forces have been augmented, juvenile court dockets saturated and reformatories jammed.

With slum clearance moving at a snail's pace, school construction lagging and automation making it increasingly difficult for boys just out of school to find satisfactory jobs, youths from underprivileged families are turning to dark and desperate roads in increasing numbers.

During the hearings on S. 812, we heard witness after witness from the great metropolitan areas tell of the tremendous burden being placed on the police and the courts, and of the rising curve of costs to deal with delinquency. There was general agreement that a figure of \$ 25,000 was a good estimate of the cost to the taxpayer for every juvenile delinquent who went the police-courts-reformatory road. The sickening waste of human lives was being accompanied by a staggering rise in costs. Worst of all, what was being spent apparently was not doing anything to solve the problem.

I particularly recall the comment of the warden of the Oklahoma State Reformatory, who wrote me: "The solution to our crime situation is not more jails, reformatories, and penitentiaries, but some educational programme which will prevent boys from coming to our penal institutions". And Warden Joe Harp concluded, "It is so very hard to rehabilitate a boy behind prison walls".

The problem of juvenile delinquency is acute now, at a time when employment is at record heights, and before the great population bulge resulting from the marriages during and after World War II has hit its peak. The Bureau of Labour Statistics tells us that the rate of unemployment of young people between 16 and 19 is almost three times the national average for all workers. Furthermore, as Katherine Oettinger of the U.S. Children's Bureau points out, "It is all too easy to step from low pay or unemployment into delinquent behaviour".

Unless we succeed in bringing down the rate of delinquency, the figures on delinquency are going to leap also.

It all adds up to trouble—big trouble—a shocking waste of young lives and a scandalous waste of the taxpayers' money in fruitless efforts to seal off non-rehabilitatable boys from society.

When I first proposed the Youth Conservation Corps I tried to make it crystal clear that we were not proposing a panacea for the cancer of juvenile delinquency, but we were trying to save some boys who would otherwise go wrong. And we could point to the experience of hundreds of thousands of CCC boys who had been encouraged to lead a constructive life, who had been given both physical and mental health by their few months in hard, well-led work on the land.

Putting boys on the land, putting them to work on projects that needed to be done, on patriotic undertakings to build for the future of America, this I am ever more convinced would do more for America in terms of our nation's mental health and physical fitness than even the important resource-conservation work.

Although the Youth Conservation Corps will not be a "new CCC", it can proudly and rightfully draw upon the invaluable experience gained from that notable experiment in government. It has the vast successes and the minor mistakes of the CCC to guide the new corps. One has only to look at the record to know that what the YCC can do for America is not a matter of theory, but of proved practice.

Here is an opportunity to take action in a sea of words, to move purposefully and swiftly to deal with the two apparently unrelated problems of resource wastage and the wastage of youth, in one great forward step. Boys on the land in a Youth Conservation Corps—this can become a reality if every American who understands the wholesome and healing nature of the great outdoors will make it a personal project to express to his Congressman, and to his President, his support of S. 812.

B. Brief Summary of the Youth Conservation Corps Proposal (S. 812)

Objectives

To accelerate the planned and vitally needed, programme of conservation and development of our nation's natural resources.

Healthful training and employment of young men, particularly for those not going on to professional training in colleges.

Recruitment

Some weight given to States with larger population in the age-group, and to areas with chronic high unemployment.

Enrolees

50,000 first year, 100,000 second year, 150,000 third year.

Ages 16—21.

Non-delinquents.

Will work under professional conservationists, such as forest service rangers, in groups of about 40—50.

Pay will be \$60 monthly, with additional for leadership assignments and tenure, plus room, board, medical care, transportation, etc.

Six months' enrolments, plus re-enrolment up to a total of two years.

Each enrolee will also have vocational, remedial or general training programme.

Projects

Planned conservation projects, such as those set forth in the Forest Service's Programme for the National Forests—tree planting, stream-bank stabilisation, timber stand improvement, re-seeding, insect control, small watershed development, etc. on Federal lands.

Similar work on State lands, on 50-50 matching basis.

Structure

Youth Conservation Corps Director at level of Assistant Secretary in Department of Labour.

Youth Conservation Commission advisory to Director, representing Departments of Agriculture, Interior, Labour and Health, Education and Welfare.

C. Extracts from the Report of the Senate Committee on Labour and Public Welfare

The CCC covered a 9-year period from April 1933 until June 30, 1942. It was a programme which aroused few enemies and made hosts of friends. It was credited with "taking the kids off the streets" and advancing natural resource conservation in such fields as erosion control and forestation by many years. The programme was terminated by Pearl Harbour, by the need for young men to be in the armed services.

The hearings (in the Senate) are dotted with favourable references to the CCC, expressions from people in all walks of life. Examples of such evaluations are as follows :

Of all the programmes tried under the conservation administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, I know of none which achieved as great a reputation for success and value as the Civilian Conservation Corps. Recalling the experience we had in Montana, the establishment of these camps brought boys together from all over the country and in the process helped acquaint them with their country and with the knowledge that they were all Americans. In addition, a tremendous amount of effective conservation work was done. The strong interest that exists in conservation stems from the experiences many of our people had in the CCC programme.

SENATOR MURRAY

I recall the very excellent, important work the CCC did. It is just a pity that we have abandoned some of those fine, progressive programmes of the Roosevelt administration. I think it is time that they were revitalised and brought up again as is done by S. 812. I hope we can get this bill moved so that we can get action on it in this session of Congress.

SENATOR BYRD
West Virginia

I spent one year in the Civilian Conservation Corps. I learned how good plain food can taste, and sound sleep can feel, and how strong a humble spirit can become from clean, honest, hard work and in living under circumstances stripped of all the superficiality that society feels is so important. More than that, we were a part of a

noble cause to replace what God had already given us once, in the forests—beauty, soil conservation, wildlife and lumber. We came from all walks of life, farmers, mill-hands, college students, some with prison records and some studying for the ministry. Every man was on his own.

D. EDWIN FLETCHER
Businessman, former enrollee

I frequently meet younger men now who tell me their first interest in the out of doors came from their work in the CCC camps and that they got interested enough so that when they were able to go back to school, they took training to fit them for professional work in one of the outdoor fields.

I think that is very important to the general public. As this country becomes more urbanized it becomes more difficult for people to stay close to the land and this country was built on land and on people's relations with it. The further they get away from it, the more important I think is the opportunity to get out and actually do some physical work on the land to get some idea of the feel of the land.

I grew up on a farm and I know I would not take anything in the world for the background and experience and the feeling that goes with some knowledge of the land and a large part of our population is losing that.

I do not look upon this as an emergency thing. I think it should be a permanent part of the programme in educating Americans to be better citizens.

IRA N. GABRIELSON
President, Wildlife Management Institute

In Pennsylvania we are still reaping the benefits of the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Many of our State parks and other forestry programmes were created by the CCC. Having had intimate experience with this work, I can testify to the great value of the CCC programme for the men who took part in it.

RALPH C. WIBLE
Chief Forester, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

It was my privilege in 1935, 1936 and 1937 to be a member of the Civilian Conservation Corps and, believe me, at that time it was the finest thing that could happen to a young man. It was right at the end of the depression and there was nothing that a young man just out of high school could find to do. I will always be grateful that I had that opportunity and I know that I express the feelings of all of the men that were in there with me at that time whom I still associate with today. It gave us a chance to find out what this old life is all about and get our feet on the ground. We were given the opportunity to operate road construction equipment, to build forest roads, public picnic grounds, to study forestry, to learn carpentry, and just about every opportunity that was possible to be given a young man.

JAMES F. MILLER
Former Enrollee

The CCC left no bad taste. Even the bitterest opponents of the New Deal had to admit that the CCC was a sound investment in both people and the land. And millions of American families taking to the fields and woods today constantly run across reminders of the constructive CCC work of a generation ago. Among them are thousands of loyal CCC "alumni" who take pride in revisiting the woods, trails, recreational areas, and upstream reservoirs, the burgeoning stands of young timber, the renewed game cover, and green stream banks on which they worked as very young men.

SENATOR HUMPHREY
Harper's, January 1959

Although I may be biased on the benefits of this movement on account of my close association with it, I believe it was the best movement for the conservation of

our youth and natural resources. The programme actually put us ahead at least 10 years in consummating our conservation plans.

F. H. CLARIDGE
State Forester,
State of North Carolina

We believe that the Civilian Conservation Corps was one of the best and most profitable projects during the depression years of the thirties. Unquestionably the guidance and opportunities provided within that agency served to brighten the future of a good many of those who participated in the programme. The same purpose might equally be served in good as well as in poor times.

THE AMERICAN LEGION

I am familiar with the activities of the Civilian Conservation Corps, and it is the success of that programme which leads me to support enthusiastically the proposal to establish a Youth Conservation Corps. Such a corps would help tremendously to build up both the youth of our nation and its natural resources—our most precious assets. Experience has demonstrated beyond question the value of constructive work in the maintenance and improvement of natural resources of all kinds, and in the physical, mental, moral, and spiritual development of those who participate in it. Relief from unemployment, which was the motivating force in the original CCC programme, may well be an important service rendered by the Youth Conservation Corps, but of still greater and more lasting value will be its service in upbuilding young men and in providing them with a better land in which to live. Such a corps can provide a way of salvation for those who are, or who are likely to become delinquents. It can also provide an experience which will make the normal youth a better rounded individual and a more useful citizen. He will learn to appreciate nature in all of her various aspects and to realise his dependence on the resources which she has provided; to recognise the dignity of manual labour, and to cooperate with others in supervision; and its educational opportunities should receive more attention than was the case with the CCC, particularly in its early days.

SAMUEL T. DANA
Dean Emeritus, School of Natural Resources
University of Michigan

I gained weight. I met a lot of people, a lot of boys, that I possibly would never had met otherwise. The fellowship that I had with these boys was quite beneficial to me. And our instructors, our supervisors, showed us how to get together with the various boys and to be friends and what not.

To me, the CCC programme at that time was one of the best things that could have happened to the country.

C. A. HEHLE
Sheriff, Jefferson County, W.Va.,
Former Enrolee

The basis of this judgment goes back to the time of the depression and my participation in a study of the results of the study of the civilian conservation programme. I helped in the training of interviewers of the youth who had had experience in the programme and read many of the interviews obtained from the youth.

Almost all the replies of the youth were most favourable. They had all gained in health. They greatly appreciated their contact with nature. They were proud of their part in the achievements of the programme. They felt that they had matured. Many voluntarily stated that the experience had checked the beginnings of a delinquent career.

EARNEST W. BURGESS
Professor Emeritus, University of Chicago

We already have some experience to build on. The Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930's is a practical example of what has been done in solving a somewhat similar problem of that period. The CCC with its far-reaching accomplishments has never been completely evaluated, nor fully appreciated by the mass of American people.

HOWARD HOPKINS, CLIFF OWSLEY
from "Who Will Lead in Conservation Opportunity No. 1?"
American Forests, November 1958

In my capacity as commander-in-chief I have had the privilege of travelling in practically every State in the United States. Over and over again wherever I have gone the subject of juvenile delinquency has come to my attention. Whenever discussing this subject, invariably, some of our members of the VFW have told me of the wonderful and beneficial results of the Civilian Conservation Corps programme that was established during the depression.

Not only did the CCC programme take a large number of our idle youth off the street but these same youths helped carry out badly needed conservation programmes, as well as cleaning up some of our forests. I might add, some of the CCC boys were later to join the Armed Forces where so many of them served with considerable honour and distinction during World War II.

JOHN H. MAHAN
Commander-in-Chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars

APPENDIX VI

EXTRACTS FROM THE CIRCULAR ON COMMUNITY SERVICE PROJECTS

Republic of the Philippines, Department of Education

Bureau of Public Schools

MANILA

March 27, 1957

There is enclosed A GUIDE FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS' VACATION COMMUNITY EDUCATION SERVICE. As its name indicates, this material gives a set of suggestions for the organization and training of vacationing students into voluntary associations or groups for community service during the long vacation in their respective communities, for the drawing up of a programme of service, and for the implementation of that programme. This Office believes that utilizing the energies and resources of the youth for community service will round out their education and give them many an opportunity for community leadership and participation in citizenship activities in their respective localities.

For the present, there no intention of having all Secondary school students carry out the plan, described in this guide, during this coming vacation, although it will be a happy thing, indeed, if all of them can thus be organized and trained for community improvement as a part of their vacation activities. It is suggested that every school superintendent look into the possibility of having the plan tried out by the students of at least one Secondary school in his division. The selection of the school may be determined by him after consultation with the members of his staff and the principal of the school.

It should be noted that there is suggested a training period of one week before or after the close of the school year. If the training is held before the end of the school year, some teachers may be assigned as resource persons. If the training is held after the close of the school year, the teachers may be encouraged to volunteer their services. In either case, the help of personnel from agencies engaged in some form of community development should be solicited. The training course should deal mainly with the areas of community living which the various student groups may desire to cover in their service activities. The planning of the programme of activities; the approaches to be used in its implementation, such as group organization, coordination, and teamwork; and the use of audio-visual materials, demonstrations, lectures, forums, panel discussions, including human relations, should give the students a minimum of preparation for the community service that they intend to undertake.

It should also be noted that the vacation community service activities are intended to be carried out for a total of fourteen (14) days scheduled either consecutively or periodically.

The stimulation, guidance, and inspiration of the principal and teachers of the Secondary school as well as of the division staff should be fully given for this project to succeed. Unless they volunteer their services, school officials and teachers need not take part in the direction and management of this service project after the training period. It is desired that the vacationing students take full charge, for this is really an opportunity for leadership training on their part, and the experiences they will acquire therefrom are useful education in human relations and in the application of knowledge and information.

APPENDIX VII-A
INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE
(British Branch of I. V. S. P.)

Between the Wars

1. IVS was firmly established by the early 1930's.
2. Early work took place in depressed areas and industrial black spots of Britain. There were frequent services in mining villages culminating in the famous project at Oakengates.

The War

1. The outbreak of war in 1939 obviously curtailed the activities of many branches, but came as a challenge to the British to maintain large scale services.
2. Teams largely comprised of conscientious objectors tackled forestry work, reclamation of agricultural land and demolition of badly destroyed buildings in blitzed areas.

Post-War

1. IVS sponsored relief teams sent to Europe and the Middle East.
2. Contacts were renewed with other branches of SCI and the normal interchange of volunteers for services was re-established.
3. While conscription lasted IVS continued to offer alternative service opportunities for conscientious objectors.
4. In the early 1950's IVS took on responsibility for administering the scheme for long term volunteers in India.

Present

1. IVS is working within the framework of a fairly highly organised Welfare State.
2. There are still tremendous demands for service in this complex country, but they are not always for the traditional work camp of the early SCI pattern. Rather what is needed is the smaller team available to give practical assistance to the many organisations assisting the casualties or non-starters of our demanding individualistic society.

The effect of ordinary people, with no axe to grind, troubling about and working amongst those unable to make the pace of life in Britain today is profound. The effect upon the volunteers is also salutary. Therefore great importance is attached to our projects with, for example, the mentally retarded, the socially maladjusted or the physically handicapped. In an aggressively acquisitive environment the human needs of these people are too easily forgotten. IVS endeavours to remember that it will best achieve its aims when the real needs of a society are met, not merely those which provide a large scale tough physical assignment for the volunteers.

3. Some large camps of the traditional SCI approach are, however, still needed and there will be at least four this year.
4. There is an increasing interest amongst young people in Britain in the opportunity for giving practical assistance to those in need at home and overseas. This interest has undoubtedly been encouraged by the publicity of World Refugee Year.

In company with other British work camp organisations IVS is inundated with applications from those wishing to attend work camps. We are accordingly expanding our programme; great importance is attached to proven and well-qualified leadership, and we are therefore not prepared to increase our activities in any one year beyond our known resources.

Week-End Camps

In several big cities, particularly London, Birmingham and Liverpool, there has been an increasing number of week-end camps. These prove particularly valuable in answering the needs of the old and the infirm. They also provide continuity of activity for IVS members, thereby fostering the corporate spirit of the movement. Nine hundred volunteers have participated in these.

Membership

1. During the war, membership was largely comprised of conscientious objectors.
2. Since the war increasing numbers of non-pacifists, anxious to make a constructive contribution for peace, have been joining the movement.
3. The size of membership suffered a slight slump in the mid-1950's but has since recovered and is at present soaring past the 2,000-mark.
4. However, 70% of the active work campers come from the student world and the teaching profession. The rest is also, mainly drawn from the professional classes. This is a challenge and IVS is very much aware of the necessity for increasing the number of those in the population aware of their social responsibilities. Membership must become more comprehensive.

APPENDIX VII-B

SERVICE CIVIL INTERNATIONAL IN ASIA

It was in the mid-thirties that the Services Civil International responded to the urgent call for relief work in India during the earthquake and floods in Bihar. Pierre Ceresole along with a team of volunteers from overseas and India did reconstruction work and built on a raised platform, the village of peace, "Shantipur."

From the beginning of 1951, for several years, SCI built schools and other public buildings in Assam after the earthquake and floods there.

In the same tradition of relief work the Delhi group of SCI raised over Rs. 500 and clothes for the sufferers in Kashmir floods during September-October 1958, while the Calcutta group carried out relief work by raising funds and volunteers during the floods at the same time in West Bengal.

The Japanese Branch in 1958 carried out an emergency service in the eastern parts of Japan which had earlier been hit by the typhoons.

Work Amongst Refugees

Another significant and important aspect of SCI work in the region has been the action of SCI volunteers since 1949 among the refugees. In 1949, the SCI Team built a few Nissen huts in Faridabad where refugees were being resettled. The team also helped in putting up a workshop. And the same pattern of constructive rehabilitative work was carried out in West Pakistan and Lalukhet near Karachi in 1951-52. In both these instances the refugees worked side by side with the volunteers.

Since June 1959 SCI volunteers have been sent to the Tibetan refugee centres and transit camps in Mismari (Assam) and Dalhousie (Punjab) to help in maintaining the health and sanitation in the camps, to take up medical work not only in the makeshift hospitals but in the barrack-like huts where hundreds of Tibetans had been housed, and to undertake in the Tibetan rehabilitation centres, and in Dalhousie the educational work for the children. In addition to Indians, volunteers from overseas have also been accepted. Since over 8,000 refugees have come in, there is much to do to rehabilitate them and we are in the midst of negotiating an independent project where an international team of SCI can carry out the medical, educational and rehabilitation aspects of this important welfare work. It must be mentioned here that SCI was one of the very few voluntary organisations in the country which sent volunteers to help among the Tibetans and after some concerted action got their services recognised by the official authorities, who later accepted the services of overseas volunteers who at first were unacceptable for various reasons. The lesson has again been learnt by us that refugees should never be regarded as a political problem and by practical work alone we can make others around us change their attitudes to what is primarily a humanitarian task.

When a volunteer works with the Tibetan inmates of huts to clean them daily, to spray D.D.T. every few weeks, take the sick to the dispensary and administer the medicines, distribute soap and clothes as well as rations, he forgets to waste the time in "discussing" the "rights and wrongs" of the case. He becomes aware of the tremendous human need and understanding that the refugee requires. And this understanding and care is generated more in the case of a volunteer sent for the specific purpose to do relief work than in a person who acts in the eyes of the refugees as an "official."

One of our important services of reconciliation was conducted in 1954 at Musi-aree, West Pakistan, where Pakistanis and Indians worked along with volunteers from overseas in constructing a road for a cut-off village. Over 25 volunteers joined by 30 to 40 villagers at the week-ends accomplished this project. But as important as the work, was the living and working together by the Pakistani and Indian friends who cooperated in spite of the existing tensions between their respective countries. The open and non-sectarian basis of SCI made it possible for individuals to come together and execute a practical job jointly for a needy community in spite of their differences over political and ideological matters. This was and continues to be a significant contribution in a tension area to improve understanding and kill prejudice between individuals who have a lot in common.

In 1954 SCI organised a service in Warora Leprosy Centre in Central India where the international team helped in the building work and in cooperation with those suffering from leprosy. The method of the work camp was thus applied in bridging a terrible gulf between society and the ones who are considered the outcasts of society. Through service and sharing of common tasks it was possible to enrich the experiences of the ones who lived in the Centre and the ones who came from outside.

This year a service has been organised and is in fact going on in Ceylon amidst the Rodiyas, a community of "outcasts" who, shunned by society, have had to live through professional begging. SCI volunteers are cooperating with the official department, for rural development and the uplift of backward communities and the *Sram-dana* self-help movement. Thus in Manawa the Rodiyas are cooperating to improve their conditions through the building of latrines, wells roads and the teaching of handicrafts and cottage industries as well as agricultural work so as to settle down to definite professions rather than living by dishonourable begging to which society had condemned them. This kind of short term service using the method of the work camp provides a new role for the SCI whereby intensive work over a longer period can be and has been taken up, as for instance, in the urban welfare extension project of slum rehabilitation in Madras.

The Madras project undertaken by the SCI branch there started rehabilitating 250 families in November 1958. All the huts on the large tract of land have been built by volunteers working along with individual families. A team of volunteers is maintained on the project itself. "Cherian Nagar" is a full-fledged settlement now where only a large, sandy piece of uninhabited land existed before. The SCI volunteers live in "Shanti (Peace) Cottage" within the community and undertake welfare activities such as the dispensary, the sewing and cutting school for the women, children's school, adult education, children's games, daily milk distribution to the women and children. The community centre is in the process of construction by the volunteers so that all these activities can be carried out here and the welfare programme enlarged to include the teaching of some crafts and trades to the idlers, thus enhancing their economic status.

A Significant Experiment

This project is a significant experiment which a voluntary organisation like SCI has been entrusted with by the Central Social Welfare Board in India and has provided many lessons to us for the future development of the work in the region. It is a tremendous responsibility to rehabilitate 250 families who have always lived on the pavements in sun or rain, suffering privations and economic distress. The work is not without its inherent problems but it is a gratifying experience to be a part of this progress and change which is apparent in the existence of Cherian Nagar. SCI has once again demonstrated its flexibility to adapt its method to the changing needs of a developing community and economy.

The past few years of international cooperation and voluntary service in Asia has made possible the exchange of volunteers between the continents. Over 60 volunteers from Europe, America and Asia have served in the region for a period ranging from six months to 18 months. Hundreds of volunteers in the region have participated in

voluntary work for the betterment of needy communities and to build the bridge of understanding between the city and rural folk, between men and women from differing castes, classes, colours and creeds, thus lessening ignorance and prejudice which are the causes of tension, rift and friction. As long as "wars and conflicts spring from the minds of men" this action in international understanding will have to continue and develop through a practical method for a lasting peace.

DEVINDER DAS CHOPRA

APPENDIX VII-C

TYPES OF WORK DONE IN WORK CAMPS ORGANISED BY THE INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE FOR PEACE

<i>Austria</i>	Aid for declining village; road making and building; construction for old people's home.
<i>Finland</i>	Land clearance for settlers.
<i>France</i>	Assistance in the reconstruction of a village devastated by the 1957 floods; improvement of dwellings; preparation of holiday camp; water supply for village; restoration of rural roads; preparation of youth centre; construction of dwellings for North Africans.
<i>Germany</i>	Preparing house for use as centre for youth from bad social backgrounds; making park for refugee settlement; fund-raising project, gardening in cemetery; making garden for mental hospital; road-making for old people's home; building cultural centre for DP settlement; nursing help in hospital.
<i>Great Britain</i>	Redecoration of home for incurables; redecoration of the dwellings of old people; construction and redecoration for social settlement in dockland; redecoration of wards in hospital; building for cripples' holiday centre; building, decorating, road-repair for a home for maladjusted families; clearance, levelling, terracing, preparation of garden for new home for incurables; erection of community centre; decoration of sports centre in new town; redecoration of youth club and settlement; preparation of garden for hospital; building, decorating and road-making for school for mentally retarded spastics; repairing roads and making foot-paths for farming community; employing handicapped persons; alterations and decorating for international hostel and youth centre in multi-racial area; clearing coastal defence works; redecorating IVS Centre.
<i>Italy</i>	Demolition, reconstruction and redecoration of old building to provide social centre and school.
<i>Norway</i>	Work for homes for mentally deficient children.
<i>Sweden</i>	Road-making for Lapp settlement; building of home for handicapped children; renovating youth centre in isolated area; building for international study centre.
<i>Switzerland</i>	Road-making; road improvement; laying water pipeline to remote farm; making playground for school for mentally handicapped children.
<i>East Germany</i>	Harvesting.
<i>Greece</i>	Building fruit store-house; laying water-pipeline for village; long-term project on agricultural development.
<i>Israel</i>	Work for depressed Arab community.
<i>Morocco</i>	Project in aid of refugees.
<i>Poland</i>	Building village school; rebuilding in war-devastated town.
<i>USSR</i>	Harvesting and helping build hydro-electric station for Kolhoz.
<i>Yugoslavia</i>	Highway-building programme of the People's Youth of Yugoslavia.

APPENDIX VIII

THE CIVIC TRUST (THE U.K.)

The Civic Trust, established in July, 1957, is an independent, non-profit-making organisation which seeks to promote high standards of architecture and civic planning and to encourage a wider interest in the appearance of towns, villages and countryside. Its income has been generously provided in the form of seven-year covenants by leading industrial and commercial companies.

The activities of the Civic Trust fall into the following main categories :

- Advising on "spring cleaning" schemes for streets and other developments and improvements throughout the country.
- Commissioning special students on important planning problems.
- Removal of eye-sores and derelict buildings in the countryside by groups of volunteers.
- Organisation of a scheme of Amenity Awards given triennially for contributions to good civic design.
- Encouraging the formation of active amenity societies to deal with local problems, and assistance to such societies in approved cases.
- General publicity by means of conferences and the distribution of films, slides, exhibitions and literature.

There are no individual members of the Civic Trust, and those wishing to support its work are advised to join their local amenity society, or to form one if none exists and register it with the Trust.

The Civic Trust,
79, Buckingham Palace Road,
London S.W.-1.

Council for Nature Conservation Corps in the U.K.

What is the Conservation Corps?

The Corps is composed of young men and women volunteers who are prepared to devote some of their spare time to the common weal. It is organised for the Council for Nature by Brigadier E. F. E. Armstrong.

The Corps undertakes manual work necessary for the maintenance and scientific management of nature reserves and other biologically important sites, which the owners have been unable to tackle with the means at their disposal and which must be done if the whole aim of the reserves is not to be endangered.

Typical tasks include clearing scrub and undergrowth, uprooting small trees, fencing and the making of footpaths, digging out and planting vegetation on the banks of ponds.

At the same time volunteers are given talks explaining the purpose of work and lectures on various aspects of the natural history of the area.

Why are these tasks necessary?

You cannot just put a fence round a nature reserve and leave it. Most of England was once woodland, and if Nature is left to herself she tries to undo the work of man over the centuries.

So downland will grow up with hawthorn and dogwood scrub and eventually become a wood. And if the surrounding farmland is drained, a fen will dry up, become a thicket of birch and willow, and also finally become woodland.

But naturalists want to keep these areas as downland and fenland so that they can study the animal and plant-life of these important habitats.

These nature reserves are the open-air laboratories for the science of ecology, which provides the technical basis of land management, agriculture and forestry.

Who are the volunteers?

The volunteers come from all walks of life, but mainly so far from public and grammar schools, universities, training colleges, museums, and the Scout and Guide movements.

Over 400 volunteers applied to join the Corps in its first year and places were found for 200 on one or other of the schemes during 1959.

What do they get out of it?

1. A constructive task and a good healthy holiday in an out-of-the-way street.
2. The knowledge of doing a useful job in pleasant company.
3. Some understanding of the how, and the why, and the wherefore of nature conservation in Britain.

The volunteers learn more about the countryside by experiencing personally how hard it is to control nature than they would by weeks of lectures and reading. At the same time the evening talks turn what might be mere manual labour into an intelligent appreciation of the importance of such work.

APPENDIX IX

A CLEAN-UP CAMPAIGN

All over Britain there are eye-sores of every kind which disfigure an otherwise agreeable scene. It may be some derelict pill-box at a favourite beauty spot. It may be a disused and rusting wire fence on the hillside or along the river. It may be just a collection of rubbish and old tins dumped in a pleasant pond.

A Small Beginning

A young undergraduate at Cambridge, felt indignant at the way in which the charm of our countryside was being progressively corroded by neglect and indifference. But he was not content just to express his indignation at the thoughtlessness of others. He cared enough to do something about it himself.

In July 1957, he persuaded five fellow students to help him make a start. They chose the lovely Pembrokeshire coast, which was sadly marred by a clutter of decaying wartime works. They camped on Soldier's Rock, overlooking Milford Haven. With sledgehammers provided by the County Council, this small band of enthusiasts backed down and cleared away the unsightly remains of a dozen barrack huts. At the end of a fortnight, they went away with the satisfying knowledge that they had accomplished something worthwhile—and, what is more, they had enjoyed every moment of it.

The Trust Backs It

Hearing of this, the newly-formed Civic Trust decided to back Dower and his idea. Newspaper publicity was encouraged in all sorts of ways. This attracted every one hundred volunteers in 1958. As a result, ten camps were formed in the spring and summer of that year in various parts of the country.

In order to make the scheme still more widely known, the Civic Trust, in conjunction with the B.B.C., made a film depicting life and work in the camp at St. David's Head. It was shown on television in 1959, under the title: "Any Old Iron".

During 1959, the number of volunteers rose to 220, distributed over 18 different sites. They undertook not only the elimination of eyesores, but also various other tasks designed to improve the appearance of the scene and increase people's enjoyment of the countryside. The jobs tackled ranged from the demolition of military buildings to the clearance of footpaths.

Life in Camp

Accommodation at the camps depends on what is available. It may be a barn, an empty cottage or tents. A certain amount of camping gear can often be loaned from organisation on the spot. The Civil Defence Corps, for example, have been consistently helpful.

The camps usually last two weeks. The ages of the volunteers vary from 17 to 60. They come as individuals or in groups; and they include students from schools and universities, office and factory workers, apprentices, housewives, architects and doctors. The number in each team varies in size according to the task, from half a dozen to nearly a score. Good tools are provided locally, including pneumatic drills when necessary. Where the structure is too solid to be knocked down with hand tools, a military unit or a contractor can usually be brought in with explosives or machinery.

Much More to be Done

All this is, of course, only a drop in the ocean. Thousands more jobs of the same kind are waiting to be tackled all over the country. But a start has been made. These volunteer work camps have shown that there are men and women of all ages who are eager to play a part in clearing away the eyesores which disgrace our land.

APPENDIX X

A NOTE ON THE NEW EDUCATIONAL SCHEME OF THE U.S.S.R.

I did not have the opportunity to pay a visit to Soviet Russia and examine the working of its new educational scheme which has been sponsored by Mr. Khrushchev. I give below, for general information, some *extracts* from the "Law on Strengthening the Ties of School with Life and on Further Developing the System of Public Education in the U.S.S.R." This is of interest and relevance in our national situation to some extent, because some of the considerations prompting this reform are similar to those that apply in our country. There is, firstly, the over-all desire on the part of their educationists "to bring the educational system much closer to the every-day realities of the Soviet scene". There is a growing apprehension that far too many of the graduates coming out of high schools are seeking "white collar" jobs and they show distaste for manual work. In fact, some Soviet educationists and public leaders have expressed the view that existing Secondary education tended to incapacitate the students for manual work, that 'physical labour was becoming a kind of scarecrow for children'! There is a general feeling that, at this critical age, an experience of hard work will prove of real benefit to youth and help 'to curb their dilettantism and opportunism'. Moreover, it has been noticed that University education was becoming 'class education', because far too many students come from professional classes and a comparatively small number of students were drawn from the workers and peasants. There was an increasing danger of breeding 'high brow intellectualism' amongst such students. To deal with this situation and to bridge the gap between manual and mental work, an important change has been introduced in the educational pattern during the last three years. This envisages that, instead of a compulsory schooling of 10 years for all children—7 years' Primary and three years' Secondary—all children will have a compulsory education period of 8 years in which general as well as vocational and technical subjects will be taught. Thereafter, except in the case of specially gifted children—in art, music, mathematics etc.—all the students are required at the age of about 15 years to go to work in farms, factories, plants etc. for about three years, during which they can carry on more or less specialized part-time education in continuation schools or through correspondence courses. It is after this work interval of three years that they are to be admitted, at the age of about 18, to the university or a high technical institute for advanced education which may take anything from four to six years, depending on the field of specialization.

There is some criticism of this new scheme on the ground that the interruption of academic study for two or three years may lower standards. However, the experiment has not been tried long enough yet, nor is there any objective assessment of the results on the basis of which it may be possible to judge how far it has succeeded. But the trend of the changes that have been made and which are being vigorously pushed through, in spite of some professional criticism, shows that the authorities are convinced about the social as well as educational significance of real productive work and that they regard their educational system—which is undoubtedly *less* theoretical than our own—as inadequately adjusted to their national situation.

Law on Strengthening the Ties of School with Life and on Further Developing the System of Public Education in the U.S.S.R.

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics notes that the question of strengthening the school's bond with life and of further developing the country's system of public education, which the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have raised before the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for consideration, is of exceptionally great importance for successfully accomplishing the task of building Communism.

The popular country-wide discussion of this question has shown that the working people have given unanimous approval and support to the programme the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have worked out to further develop the system of public education.

A genuine cultural revolution has been carried out in the USSR. In it the Soviet school was a decisive factor, as it helped to raise the cultural standards of the peoples of our multinational Homeland. As the result of the consistent implementation of the Leninist national policy, all the Soviet peoples have schools teaching in their native tongues. The road is wide open to education and culture for all. Universal 7-year

education has become an accomplished fact. Secondary, vocational, and higher education are widely developed. Science, literature, and art are advancing unprecedentedly.

The gulf between mental and manual labour was one of the main vices of the old society. For centuries culture was a forbidden fruit for the millions of plain people. The old society arranged the school on a pattern making it, in fact, inaccessible to the broad masses of working people.

In socialist society, where the essential differences between mental and manual labour are gradually being erased, and the first is being married to the second, the development of all the aspects not only of material production but also of the spiritual endeavours of the broadest masses of the working people is speeded up tremendously so.

We would be making the deepest of errors if we claimed that manual labour would vanish in communist society when production is automated. Colossal technical progress will make manual labour immeasurably easier. Many trades and professions that wear down the human being are vanishing and more will vanish in the future. But manual labour will stay. The harmonious development of the human being is unthinkable without manual labour, the kind of labour that is creative and joyous, that strengthens the body and enhances its vital powers.

Soviet society has brought up a wonderful young generation devoting all their knowledge and energies, all their abilities and talents to the building of Communism. The high moral qualities of the Soviet youth have been amply manifested in the building of socialism during the first five-year plans, in the Great Patriotic War, in the heroic efforts in developing virgin and long-fallow land, in building large electric power stations, mines, blast-furnaces, in building new industrial centres in the East and the North of our country and in many other labour exploits of today.

For all the outstanding achievements in the development of the Soviet school and in the training of specialists for all branches of the national economy and culture, our schools of general education, Secondary specialised schools and schools of university rank, are still failing to meet the demands of communist construction and have serious shortcomings. The main of these is a certain divorce of schooling from life and inadequate preparation of school graduates for practical activity. This shortcoming cannot be tolerated any longer at the present stage of communist construction.

It is necessary to reform the educational system so that the Soviet Secondary schools, vocational and technical schools and schools of university rank should assume a greater share in the entire constructive activity of the Soviet people.

The Soviet Secondary school is called upon to train well-educated people having a good grounding in the fundamentals of sciences and also able to systematically engage in physical labour. It is also called upon to foster an urge in the youth to be useful to society, and to take an active part in producing the values society needs. The scope of Secondary education should be considerably widened primarily by a broadly extending network of schools for the youth working in the national economy. The solution of this problem will be an important requisite for the further advance of the cultural and technical standards of the working people, for raising the productivity of labour and successfully building Communism.

The Soviet higher school is called upon to train people with an all-round education and with a thorough knowledge of their respective branches of science and technology. Special emphasis should be placed on the further improvement of the standard of training of specialists for industry, agriculture, and building. Modern production, based as it is on the latest achievements in science and engineering, requires of the graduates of higher and Secondary specialised educational institutions good theoretical and practical knowledge.

Special importance is being attached in the new conditions to the training of specialists in higher and Secondary specialised educational establishments by correspondence and evening education. Correspondence and evening courses in the system of higher and Secondary specialised education should be organised so as to enable the people, doing useful work for society, to study, if they wish, after their working hours, to acquire higher or Secondary specialised education or advance professionally.

Any work at a factory or on a collective farm, at an industrial enterprise, on a state farm, at a repair and technical service station, or in an institution or office, any honest and useful work for society, is a sacred duty of every person who lives in socialist society and enjoys its benefits.

Every person who lives in communist society must, by his labour, contribute to the construction and further development of that society.

From the very first years of schooling children shall be prepared for the fact that they should in the future take part in socially useful labour. From the age of 15 or 16 the entire youth must join socially useful labour in accordance with its capacity, and all its further training must be associated with productive work in the national economy.

The Secondary School

Article 1. The chief task of the Soviet schools is to prepare their pupils for life, for socially useful work, to further raise the level of general and polytechnical education, to train educated people, who have a good knowledge of the fundamentals of science, to bring up the youth in the spirit of profound respect for the principles of socialist society, in the spirit of the ideas of communism.

Close ties of training with labour, with the practice of communist construction, must become the guiding principle of training and upbringing in the secondary school.

Article 2. Universal, compulsory 8-year education shall be introduced in the USSR instead of the universal compulsory 7-year education. The 8-year school is an incomplete secondary general educational labour polytechnical school which should impart to the pupils solid fundamentals of general educational and polytechnical knowledge, should inculcate in them a love for work and readiness for socially useful activity, should pursue the moral, physical and aesthetic education of the children.

Upbringing and education in the 8-year school must be based on a combination of the study of the fundamentals of science, polytechnical training and labour education, on the basis of widely drawing the school children into forms of socially useful work accessible to their age.

Article 3. Complete secondary education of the youth beginning from the age of 15 or 16 shall be carried out on the basis of combining study with productive work, so that the entire youth of this age should join socially useful labour.

Article 15. With the view to gradually making the vocational training schools partially self-sustaining, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics shall work out and consistently implement measures to extend and increase the income from the production practices of the educational establishments.

Since the working people are becoming more and more well provided for materially, to stimulate the pupils into mastering better the trade being learned, it shall be expedient to change the present terms of materially providing for the pupils by introducing wages for them in the place of free clothing and food.

The collective farms shall be advised to consider the question of allocating the appropriate funds to provide instruction for the collective-farm youth at the vocational training schools.

Article 17. The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Council of Ministers of the Union Republics shall work out long-term and annual plans for giving vocational instruction and employment to young people completing the 8-year general-educational school, the vocational training school and the secondary school with vocational instruction. A definite number of jobs for those young people shall be reserved at the enterprises. Labour protection and safety rules shall be strictly observed.

Higher Education

Article 28. The higher educational establishments shall train specialists on the basis of a full secondary education by combining study with socially useful work. The specific forms of combining study with practical work should be determined considering the specialisation of the higher educational establishment, the composition of the student body, and the national and local peculiarities.

The higher educational establishments shall admit students taking into consideration characters issued by Party, trade-union, YCL and other public organisations, by heads of industrial enterprises and by the boards of collective farms, so as to enroll, by competitive selection, people who are most worthy, who have a good production record, are well prepared and are capable.

In enrolling students to higher educational institutions priority should be given to persons with a record of practical work.

